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THE SLAVE-TRADE AND ITS REMEDY.

The *Patriot* newspaper, as we intimated in the last number of the *Reporter*, has opened its columns to a series of papers "On the Slave-trade and the African Squadron," the great object of which is to demonstrate, from the evidence laid before the House of Commons during its two last sessions, the necessity of continuing that mode of suppressing the slave-trade. To this there could be no objection; on the contrary, we hailed with satisfaction the commencement of these papers,—first, because we were satisfied the subject merited a full and fair discussion; and, secondly, because we were able to trace them to the pen of an old and able coadjutor in the anti-slavery cause, for whose past labours we must ever cherish the highest respect. We regret, however, to be compelled to say, that the manner in which the subject has been dealt with has disappointed us, and has not added to our respect for its advocate. The issue raised, among others, by the Parliamentary Committee, as stated by the writer in the *Patriot*, is, "Whether the preventive squadron has succeeded, or will succeed, in suppressing the slave-trade?"

In its first Report, the Committee show that the squadron of cruisers stationed on the coast of Africa, so far from suppressing the slave-trade, had scarcely any perceptible influence on it beyond aggravating its horrors. The Report, after showing the fearful extent to which the traffic was carried on, in the years 1846, 1847, and 1848, says, "That from the end of the year 1845 down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the British preventive squadron have been raised to a point never before attained, and that squadron has been supported by the squadrons of France and the United States, according to treaties. That the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers, in the years 1846 and 1847, scarcely exceeded four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa in those years;" and that "the intensity of the sufferings and the amount of mortality are unexampled in the history of the slave-trade."

These propositions the writer in the *Patriot* proposes to overthrow, and to establish the contrary conclusions by an analysis of the evidence, or, at all events, to show cause why the squadron should continue its operations for the suppression of the slave-trade. Now we wish to disengage the question from all extraneous measures, with which it is too frequently mixed up, and to confine our attention exclusively to the facts of the case. We shall not follow the example of our friend, and claim the witnesses which fairly belong to him as our own; and he must excuse us if we reclaim those whom, by a sort of logical legerdemain, he has ventured to appropriate.

The first general fact which meets us is this, that the squadron for the suppression of the slave-trade has been employed on the coast of Africa, and elsewhere, from the year 1819 to the year 1849, without having accomplished its object. The second general fact is, that notwithstanding the activity of this squadron, the number of negroes shipped from Africa, from 1819 to 1847, inclusive, is estimated at 2,756,506; viz., to Brazil, 1,121,800; Spanish colonies, 821,027; deaths in the middle passage, 688,299; and captured by the cruisers, 117,380. And the third general fact is, that the extent of the slave-trade, though in some degree affected by foreign interference, and at times restrained by the Governments of Spain and Brazil, has been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe. These facts we hold to be established by the evidence laid before the Committee. But, descending from these general statements to the particular testimony of the witnesses examined,

we shall first place before our readers the evidence in favour of the squadron; and, secondly, the evidence against it, as an efficient means of suppressing or repressing the slave-trade, merely accompanying it with such explanatory remarks as may be necessary to clear up ambiguities, and to bring out fairly and truly its meaning.

EVIDENCE IN FAVOUR OF THE CONTINUANCE OF THE CRUISING SQUADRON FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Hon. Capt. DENMAN, R.N.—"Do you think that the suppression of the slave-trade can ever be effected under the system as it is now practically carried out?—I do not see any reason why the recommendation of mine should not be carried strictly into effect. If it is carried out strictly I am perfectly satisfied that, with the force now employed, the slave-trade can be put an end to. It will effectually prevent the exportation of any slaves from the coast."—*First Report of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Slave-trade, 1848, p. 25.*

In the evidence given by Captain Denman before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, he gives a summary of his plan for the suppression of the slave-trade in the following terms:—

"The only plan is to block up the points of exportation unremittingly. I mean a blockade in the limited sense of carrying into effect one's authority, and of preventing the approach of slave vessels to the points from which slaves are exported. While you maintain such a blockade there may be fifty vessels in the offing waiting for slaves, but so long as you persevere in blocking up the points of export no harm is done; if, on the contrary, you go off in chase, though you may catch two or three, others will slip by you and carry off slaves. As long as the principle is not adopted of blocking up the points of embarkation, in my opinion we are doing nothing effectual for the suppression of the slave-trade.—Do not you think that if cruisers were managed according to your plan, in all respects, you could very much diminish the slave-trade?—We could put an end to it entirely, and it must be followed up by the destruction of the barracoons, by treaty with the native chiefs. This blockade stops the slave-trade, and the other eradicates it. If you have a treaty with the native chiefs, saying that the slave-trade shall not be resumed, and that if it is resumed Great Britain shall be entitled to put it down, you have the means of entirely putting it down. Do you think this may be done?—I have no question of it. I had 1000 miles of coast under my charge, and in two places I entirely stopped the slave-trade. In one place they exported previously 12,000 slaves a-year; they exported only 500 during ten months while I blockaded it. We captured twenty-three vessels, and the parties were entirely thrown on their backs; they did not know what to do; and then I was enabled to go in, under treaty with the native chiefs, and destroy the barracoons, and for two years not a single slave was exported from that port. Do you think the present force on the coast of Africa is sufficient for the purpose you have mentioned?—Ample."—*First Report of Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, p. 151.*

Commander H. MATSON, R.N.—"Do you think that if that system were pursued which Captain Denman originated, of destroying the barracoons, the slave-trade might be extinguished?—I am not exactly aware of what Captain Denman's plan was; but if the plan which was adopted by the Government in 1844 had been fully carried out, I have no doubt that the slave-trade would have ceased, and I think the failure is more owing to the mode of execution than to the plan itself."—*First Report of the Select Committee on the Slave-trade, 1848, p. 86.*

The plan which Captain Matson refers to in the foregoing evidence was thus described by him, in his replies to the questions proposed by the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee.

"Can you explain to the Committee in what way the difficulties of putting down the slave-trade have increased of late years, and to what extent, during the period when you were in the service, you at one time had succeeded in putting it down?—To go back to the year 1842, at which time I consider the slave-trade to have almost ceased, owing to the measures which had been adopted by the Government, and

the success of the cruisers there for two or three years previously. Since then I consider every step taken has been retrograde. The first great step we took was in the year 1839, when the Portuguese Slave-trade Suppression Bill was passed. That was the first great blow to the slave-trade. The Government afterwards (1841-42) issued orders to burn the barracoons, with the consent of the chiefs, if it could be obtained, (which at that time was not at all difficult; it was in fact very easy;) and failing to obtain their consent, in certain cases to do it without. It was, however, never requisite to do it without their consent, which was always obtained for a very trifling subsidy, a small annual subsidy for five years generally, altogether amounting to a very little. Is it your opinion that, under all the circumstances now, the state of things could possibly be restored to what it was in 1842?—It might be, of course, by force; but I consider the force required would be almost double what would have been then necessary. There are now 6,000 men, are there not, employed?—There are twenty-five or twenty-six vessels. You think it would be necessary to double that force in order to put down the slave-trade?—To ensure it. No chief in Africa will relinquish the slave-trade, so long as he has any hopes of carrying it on; it was only when he had relinquished all hopes that he would enter into a treaty, and it was that feeling which induced them, in 1841 and 1842, to enter into those treaties."—*Third Report of Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee*, p. 193-195.

Commander W. RILEY, R.N.—"Do you believe that the slave-trade may be diminished, if the cruisers are kept up as efficiently as possible?—It is my decided opinion (I form it after some deliberation) that if you substituted steamers for sailing vessels in the Bight of Benin, within two years you would totally destroy the slave-trade; that it would cease in that part. I confine my observations to that part, for I cannot speak in reference to the southward, except from the information of others."—*First Report of Select Committee on the Slave-trade*, 1849, p. 20.

Captain E. H. BUTTERFIELD, R.N.—"Is it your opinion that if the same vigilant proceedings adopted by you up to 1842 had been continued, the slave-trade would have been suppressed on those parts of the coast?—I think there is no doubt of it. Do you mean entirely suppressed?—It would have been suppressed while the squadron remained there; but whether it would have occurred again or not, I do not know. What would have occasioned its opening up again?—If you had withdrawn the squadron, I dare say it would have grown up again. Your opinion is, that if the squadron had been withdrawn the trade would have been renewed?—No doubt of it; and it always will be whilst the Portuguese settlements are there."—*First Report of Select Committee on the Slave-trade*, 1848, p. 58.

Commander T. F. BIRCH, R.N.—"From the experience which you have had, are you of opinion that any plan of force, or any plan which united force with the system of treaties with the native chiefs on the coast, would put a stop to the slave-trade?—I think the force must be very much increased beyond what it is now, actually to put a stop to it. What augmentation of that force would you think sufficient to put a stop to the slave-trade?—Treble, I should say, to put a thorough stop to it; and to be allowed to destroy barracoons on the beach, and all property belonging to people who were known to be actually embarked in the trade, which it is not at all difficult to find out. And you think that such an augmentation of force, combined with the other measures of which you have spoken, would be sufficient to stop the slave-trade, notwithstanding a very high demand for slaves in Brazil?—I think that another great thing would be the punishment of those who were engaged in the trade, because they return immediately, and the vessels that they sail in now-a-days are so worthless that the actual money which is disbursed is nothing, and they do not care whether their vessels are lost or not. If you are not allowed to destroy the barracoons, except in those cases in which you have treaties with the chiefs, if the force upon the coast is not trebled, and if the crews engaged in the trade are not made punishable, are you of opinion, that under such circumstances you can effectually put down the slave-trade?—No, I do not think so; I believe we may go on with the squadron that we have on the coast now to eternity."—*Ibid.* pp. 155-162.

The number of cruisers employed on the coast of Africa in the suppression of the slave-trade was, in 1848, twenty-six, including eight steamers; according to Captain Birch, therefore, it would take seventy-eight sailing vessels and steamers to accomplish the desired object; and, according to Captain Butterfield, the force must be kept up after the suppression, or the traffic would infallibly break out again. Among the conditions which Captain Birch specifies as necessary to the success of the squadron, is the punishment of the pirates engaged in the traffic. At present, they go scot free; the only loss they sustain is that of their wages, which is amply compensated by future success. Our cruisers and courts have no authority to punish them, even after they have fought our vessels and killed our seamen, in their attempts to evade capture.

Right Hon. Lord PALMERSTON, M.P.—"Does your lordship expect that so long as a demand exists for the productions of Cuba and Brazil,

it can be possible for us to anticipate the extinction of the slave-trade in the event of our withdrawing our naval police?—On the contrary, I should anticipate that the slave-trade would receive a most enormous increase, and that increase would continue to be permanent, varying in amount from time to time, but settling down permanently to a quantity far greater than that which at present exists. Then the Committee is to infer that your lordship considers our establishment on the coast of Africa for the prevention of the slave-trade a permanent establishment?—My opinion is, that if the Spanish Government, and if the Government of Brazil, would honestly and effectually fulfil their treaty engagements for the suppression of the slave-trade, the slave-trade would be practically at an end. The necessity for our extensive measures of police is created by the violation of treaty engagements by the Governments of Spain and Brazil. I apprehend that our naval police may be expected to make the trade so difficult that, in spite of the connivance of those two Governments, it may be no longer worth the while of their subjects to carry it on; and if our police should succeed in producing that effect for a certain time, then it would become more easy to prevail upon these two Governments to have recourse to those prohibitory measures within their own territories which would permanently put an end to the trade."—*First Report on the Slave-trade*, 1848, pp. 7-9.

Right Hon. Dr. LUSHINGTON, D.C.L.—"It is your opinion that the whole of our fleet, in its full efficiency, and with the assistance of the French fleet, the impetus given to the slave-trade by the importation of Brazilian and Cuban sugar has enabled an increased number of slaves to be carried away from the coast?—There is no doubt whatever about it. It is not too much to assume that the present system has failed of its desired effect?—The present system has not attained all the ends which it was expected it would attain. Has it attained anything like the effect which you, in your own contemplation, imagined that it would attain?—It has certainly not attained one end which I contemplated and hoped it would, either the entire suppression or the diminution of the trade; but it has prevented what I conceived would have taken place if no such exertions had been made, the increase of the slave-trade. Do you think there is any reasonable prospect of putting down, or keeping within limits, this trade by the application of force alone?—I am of opinion that, by the application of any force which I conceive this country could now apply to the object, looking at the present causes stimulating the slave-trade, it would not be practicable to suppress the slave-trade, or put a stop to it, but merely to diminish it to a certain extent."—*Ibid.* 1849, pp. 94-95.

JOHN CARR, Esq., Chief-Justice of Sierra Leone.—"According to your own knowledge, to what degree do you believe that the blockade has been, or has not been, efficient?—I think it has been efficient, because a number of vessels have been seized; some fifty vessels *per annum* have been seized upon that coast by the cruisers, and that would certainly show great activity and zeal in the discharge of their duty."—*First Report*, 1848, p. 129.

It is to be observed, that the Brazilian Government having refused, on the expiration of the treaty of 1817, on the 13th of March, 1845, to enter into a new one, to give effect to the stipulations of the Convention of the 23rd of November, 1826, the British Government proposed to act independently of Brazil, and obtained an Act of Parliament (8 and 9th Vic. cap. 122) legalising the capture of Brazilian vessels employed in the slave-trade, and for their condemnation in the Courts of Vice Admiralty. This has been protested against by the Government of Brazil. Under this Act, therefore, and not under treaty, do our cruisers capture Brazilian slavers, which will account for the number seized and condemned.

W. M. HUTTON, Esq.—"You must have had occasion to observe with great interest the attempt at suppressing the slave-trade, has that attempt been in its results satisfactory to your own mind?—Not upon the whole; the experience that I have had upon the coast of Africa may, perhaps, warrant me in saying, that, as regards the slave-trade, two courses of measures are necessary: there must be coercive measures, and there must be measures to wean the chiefs of Africa from pursuing it. Now, it is in the latter measures that our Government has been wanting."—*Ibid.* p. 173.

Rev. EDW. JONES.—"Do you think, if the British fleet were withdrawn from the coast of Africa, that in those parts of the coast where the palm-oil trade and other trades now prevail, slave-trade would be likely to spring up again?—I think almost immediately. And if slave-trade were to spring up again, it is still a favourite trade in the hearts of the people, is it not?—It is with the chiefs. I imagine that you have not had much personal experience whether the squadron is or is not effective in checking, though it does not put down, the slave-trade?—No personal experience, but from my acquaintance on the coast."—*Third Report of Select Committee on the Slave-trade*, pp. 118-119.

Rev. HY. TOWNSEND.—"Do you regard the presence of the squadron upon the coast as a benefit to the people of Africa themselves?—I conceive it a great benefit. Do you conceive it to be a benefit adequate to its cost in preventing the slave-trade?—I think so. If it do not prevent the

slave-trade, does it check the slave-trade to such a degree as to justify you in wishing its continuance?—We wish it most undoubtedly to continue."—*Ibid.* p. 156.

Rev. C. A. GOLLMER.—"As far as the operations of the squadron are concerned, have you, or have you not, reason to believe that the squadron has checked, though it has failed to prevent the slave-trade?—I believe it is impossible to say how far the squadron has checked the slave-trade; but that it would be plainly seen that the squadron has greatly checked the slave-trade, if the squadron were removed."—*Ibid.* pp. 171-172.

Rev. H. WADDELL.—"Is it your impression that the cruisers might be safely withdrawn from that part of the coast with which you are acquainted?—I fear not, if the object is to suppress the slave-trade. What in your opinion would be the effect of the withdrawal of the cruisers?—To encourage a renewal of the slave-trade to a great extent in some places where it has been suppressed."—*First Report on the Slave-trade, 1849, p. 37.*

EVIDENCE AGAINST THE CONTINUANCE OF THE CRUISING SQUADRON FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Captain W. ALLEN, R.N.—"Do you consider the presence of the squadron, or of her Majesty's vessels on the coast, to be one of the means most effectual for the suppression of the slave-trade?—My opinion is, that it has not produced the effect of suppressing it, and that it has very much aggravated the evil of it. Supposing it to be the object of any nation to suppress the slave-trade in Africa, would you, or would you not, wish the Committee to understand that it is your opinion that such nation should or should not employ a squadron off the coast?—It is a difficult question, and probably I have not sufficient information to pronounce an opinion, but I must confess that my impression is that the squadron has not attained the object for which it was intended."—*First Report of the Committee on the Slave-trade, 1848, pp. 74-75.*

Captain T. FORSHAM.—"You have been some years engaged in the African trade?—I have. Are you of opinion that the operations of the British squadron on the coast prevent the exportation of slaves in large numbers from Africa?—I do not believe they do. Are you of opinion that it would be possible for the British squadron to prevent the carrying away of slaves from one point or another of that coast?—No, I do not think it would be possible."—*Second Report, 1848, p. 60.*

Captain G. MANSELL, R.N.—"Looking to the extent of the coast of Africa, and to the facilities which the coast affords for the shipment of slaves, do you imagine that it would be possible by means of any naval force to suppress the slave-trade, so long as there existed a high demand for slaves on the other side of the Atlantic?—I am perfectly convinced that it would be impossible. Have you any hesitation in condemning entirely the employment of a marine force as a means of extinguishing the slave-trade on the coast of Africa?—No; I think it is impracticable. You concur also, I apprehend, in that sentiment of Mr. Clarkson, that the employment of a marine force on the coast of Africa has increased the horrors of the slave-trade?—I should fear so. You think, then, that it can only be stated that the squadron diminishes the extent of the slave-trade with reference to the temporary extension which it would assume if the squadron were withdrawn; but that, speaking of its permanent extent, the squadron really does not materially affect it?—I am afraid so."—*Ibid.* p. 66-69.

Captain R. H. STOFFORD, R.N.—"Were you led to the conclusion that our squadron on the coast of Africa was very successful in stopping the slave-trade?—No, quite the contrary. As a naval officer, do you imagine that the British squadron on the coast will ever extinguish the slave-trade?—Never."—*Ibid.* p. 164.

Commander W. O'BRYEN HOARE, R.N.—"Have you been employed on the coast of Brazil?—I was employed there nearly two years; from 1843 to 1845. During the time that you were on that station had you any opportunity of observing the operations of the slave-trade?—Yes, I had very great opportunities; up to within three months of my coming home I was constantly employed in cruising, and on no other service. Did you make any captures?—I captured eight vessels. From the observations which you made while you were cruising against the slave-trade, are you, or are you not of opinion that it would be possible for this country by means of the squadron to extinguish that traffic?—Decidedly not; I two years ago myself advanced to the first lord of the Admiralty (and they also were laid before Lord Aberdeen, I believe,) my remarks, and the points upon which I clearly proved that the coercion against the slave-trade is aiding and abetting it daily; and I am more impressed with it now than ever, from accounts which I have had from Rio."—*Third Report, 1848, p. 25-28.*

Captain CHADS, R.N.—Was unable to attend the Committee, but he addressed a letter to the first lord of the Admiralty stating his opinions, from which we make the following extract:—"I do not think that any blockade, however strict, even if carried on with double the number of vessels composing the present squadron, could, under the existing system, stop the traffic."—*Appendix to the third Report of Select Committee on the Slave-trade, 1848, p. 197.*

Commander F. MONTANSON.—"You stated that the slave-trade was, up

to the last moment that you had any knowledge of it, carried on with activity along the coast?—Yes. The present force is wholly inefficient for the purpose of extinguishing the slave-trade?—Yes, for the purpose of extinguishing it, it is. Looking at it as employed for the extinction of the slave-trade, the expense hitherto bestowed on the squadron has been thrown away?—Yes, I am afraid so. If the object of the squadron is the utter destruction of the slave-trade, the keeping up the squadron is, I should say, entirely thrown away. If the slave-trade is to be put down, I understand that your opinion is that means very different from those employed must be resorted to?—Yes, I think so. Even then, do you feel confident that it can be put down by a marine guard?—Under the circumstances I have stated that for a time it could be put down, but not for ever; it would eventually rise again."—*First Report of Committee on the Slave-trade, 1849, p. 32.*

Sir CHARLES HOTHAM.—"You have, I believe, recently held the command of the British squadron on the west coast of Africa?—I have. When were you relieved on that station?—I was relieved on 1st of March, 1849. How long had you held the command of that African station?—From October, 1846, until March, 1849. What was the naval force usually under your orders?—It seldom averaged twenty-two ships of all kinds. How many of those were steamers?—It would be difficult to give an average of those; the number varied very much. What was the largest number of steam-vessels that you had under your orders at any time?—The largest number was seven. Was that force in a high state of discipline, generally speaking?—I thought so. Were your views carried out by the officers under your command to your entire satisfaction?—Entirely so. What was the result of your operations; did you succeed in stopping the slave-trade?—No. Did you cripple it to such an extent as in your opinion is calculated to give to the slave-trade a permanent check?—No. What is the length of the line of coast on the western side of Africa along which in your opinion the slave-trade could be carried on?—2,195 miles. In your opinion, is the blockade of the whole of that line of coast, at all seasons of the year, and at all periods of the twenty-four hours, practicable?—Certainly not. Supposing the present policy of this country, of attempting to stop the slave-trade by a blockading squadron, to be persisted in, can you look forward to any definite period when it will effect the extinction of the slave-trade?—I cannot. Under those circumstances you must look upon the blockading squadron, not as a temporary expedient, but as the normal state of our policy as applied to that subject?—I hardly know how to answer that question; but I should say, yes. Are you acquainted with any plan of operations which would permanently extinguish the slave-trade in two or three years?—It would be very vain in me to say that I am; but I am intimately persuaded that our present measures are perfectly futile, and that our operations should be undertaken on the other coast, in connexion with the Brazilian Government. A plan for suppressing the slave-trade was laid before a committee appointed to consider this subject last year, by an officer of great intelligence, Captain Denman, and it excited a great deal of attention. Are you acquainted with the general features of that plan?—I am. Do you think that plan is calculated to effect the extinction of the slave-trade within any definite period?—Certainly not, with the exception of the coast between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone, where alone it is in any way applicable. What facilities does that part of the coast afford for the successful operation of Captain Denman's plan?—There is not there a continuous line of country whereon the slave-trade is conducted, which is the case on almost every other part of the coast. Are there any other circumstances which would facilitate the successful application of Captain Denman's scheme?—I do not recollect any at the present moment. There are some difficulties arising from the fogs?—Precisely; the coast is subject to the contingencies of weather. Do you consider that the slave-trade has been generally regulated by the strength and efficiency of the British squadron on the coast, or by the commercial demand for slaves?—I consider it is entirely dependent upon the commercial demand for slaves, and has little or no connexion with the squadron. In your opinion, supposing a strict blockade to be kept up at one particular part of the coast, a trade would immediately burst out at another part of the coast?—It is impossible, in my opinion, to keep up such a blockade as to prevent the slave-trade existing in the Bight of Benin, though I think it is feasible on the north coast. Will you mention, in miles, the proportion of coast which you think might be strictly blockaded, and the portion of the coast which is not susceptible of being strictly blockaded?—I am sorry to say the former is very small; altogether it is not more than 100 miles which you could blockade effectually, in my judgment. Does that mean only 100 miles out of the 2,100 miles you have given?—There are only 100 miles out of 2,195 miles which you could blockade effectually. How many vessels would you require to blockade that 100 miles effectually?—Four vessels. Are those 100 miles more favourable for carrying on the slave-trade than the remainder of the coast?—There are greater facilities in the way of shipping slaves; it is a coast more easily watched; it is a coast where they only ship at particular points, and for that reason I am of opinion that a successful blockade might be maintained; it was maintained in 1848."—*Ibid.* pp. 43-53.

The Right Hon. Lord JOHN HAY, C.B., a Member of the Committee.—“As a naval officer, and a Lord of the Admiralty, are you acquainted with the transactions of the African squadron while under the command of the late Commodore Sir Charles Hotham?—Yes. Were the operations of the fleet conducted, on the part of that officer, with zeal, intelligence, and skill?—I have heard the Board of Admiralty, both collectively and individually, give their opinion as to the manner in which they considered the services had been performed on the coast of Africa by Sir C. Hotham, and I cannot explain that better than by reading a letter which I have in my hand, which was the last communication made to Sir Charles Hotham on his striking his broad pennant at Spithead. From whom is the letter?—The letter is signed by the Secretary of the Admiralty, by the direction of the Board. Will you be so kind as to read it?—‘Admiralty, 12th April, 1849. Sir, I am commanded by my Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, that your return to England affords their lordships an opportunity they have much desired, of conveying to you the expression of their approval of the ability and energy with which you have conducted your late command; and it is with much satisfaction that my lords attribute to your judgment and discretion your having successfully secured the co-operation of your foreign colleagues throughout your employment abroad. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, W. A. B. Hamilton.’—Does the Board of Admiralty attribute the failure of Sir Charles Hotham’s efforts to accomplish the mission confided to him to any deficiency on his part; are they of opinion that any duty which was confided to him was left inadequately discharged?—The Admiralty consider that Sir Charles Hotham carried out his instructions to the letter, with great judgment and zeal, and to the entire satisfaction of the Board. Are you acquainted with what might have been the opinion of the late lamented First Lord of the Admiralty in regard to this subject?—I have often heard the late Lord Auckland express his opinion of Sir Charles Hotham in the most satisfactory manner, and I feel convinced that he placed the utmost confidence in his judgment during the period of his command. Do you think that if it had been possible to have stopped the slave-trade by such means as were confided to Sir Charles Hotham, the slave-trade would have been stopped under his control?—I am decidedly of that opinion.”—*Ibid.* pp. 84, 85.

MACGREGOR LAIRD, Esq.—“At the present moment do you understand the British squadron to be both large and efficient on the coast of Africa?—It is very large. And in a high state of efficiency and order?—Yes; they are splendid vessels. I suppose that the finest class of small men-of-war in the world are now on the coast of Africa. What is the present state of the slave-trade?—From the last accounts it is in an exceedingly flourishing state. By what law do you consider the slave-trade to be governed?—Entirely by the price of produce in Cuba and the Brazils. The fact is, there is a large extent of fertile land in Cuba and Brazil which is made valuable by cultivation?—Yes. That produces a strong attractive power on the labour of Africa, which you conceive it is very difficult for the British Government to overcome?—I think that our experience of the last forty years, since 1808, has proved it to be quite impossible to check the supply while the demand continues.”—*First Report of Select Committee on the Slave-trade, 1848, p. 193.*

Mr. J. DUNCAN.—“From what you saw on the coast are you of opinion that our squadron, in its present amount, would ever be able to stop the slave-trade?—No; I do not think it ever would effectually prevent the slave-trade; although, if the squadron were reduced, and a small military force established for the protection of trade, I think, as the natives became acquainted with the development of the resources of their own soil, it would show the native kings and chiefs the advantage of retaining the people in their own country for that purpose, and I think the slave-trade would die a natural death.”—*Ibid.* pp. 212, 213.

J. BANDINEL, Esq.—“It has been stated by a witness examined by this Committee, that the slave-trade has always diminished in proportion to the efficiency and number of the British cruisers on the coast of Africa; have your observations led you to the same conclusion?—No. Do you believe that the vicissitudes observed in the slave-trade have been wholly independent of the exertions made for forcibly suppressing it by the squadron?—Unless when they were concomitant in time with the exertions of the slaveholding Government. Was the British squadron, as far as you are informed, ever more effective than during the years 1846 and 1847?—I observe an expression which is very strong on that subject, from a person who is a better judge than I think anybody; this is a Report from Mr. Macaulay, dated 25th May, 1846; I have nothing so late as 1847; he was Commissioner at Boa Vista, and a very able and experienced man; he says—‘I have attentively watched the proceedings of her Majesty’s squadron on the coast during the last seventeen years; and although the number of cruisers has latterly been more than twice as large as it ever was before, within the same space, I never knew the naval force so completely in hand, or directed with so much precision as during the last two years.’ And yet, notwithstanding the force and activity of the squadron, and the number of captures it has made, it appears that the slave-trade, at least in relation to Brazil, during those

two years, 1846 and 1847, was in a state of almost unprecedented activity?—Yes, in a state of extreme activity.”—*Ibid.* p. 237.

WILLIAM SMITH, Esq.—“What situation did you hold in Sierra Leone?—I went out as Registrar to the Mixed Commissions, and became successively Commissioner of Arbitration and Commissary Judge. Having held these situations, you must necessarily be well acquainted with the nature of the system by which Great Britain has undertaken to put down the slave-trade?—I think I am tolerably well versed in it. What is the judgment which your long and large experience at last pronounces upon the success of that system?—I should say that it is a failure. Has it not, in your opinion, done more than failed; looking to the expenditure of the British Government, to the loss of life in the naval forces of her Majesty on the coast, to the sufferings of the negroes, and to the mortality which has been experienced among the negroes who are detained in the barracoons and sent across the ocean, do you not think it has failed with very deplorable results?—I should say so from my own experience. Are you of opinion that the system by which this country undertakes to put down the slave-trade is ever likely to be successful?—I think not, because the demand for slaves will always create a supply. And you are decidedly of opinion that so long as a high demand exists for slaves in Cuba and Brazil, it will be impracticable for the British Government, by any system of force, to extinguish the trade?—I am afraid so. I have looked at it in every point of view myself, and I can form no system in my own mind that would be successful. Do you recommend the maintenance of the present squadron, or of any part of the squadron, on the coast for the purpose of forcibly repressing it?—No; not for the purpose of forcibly repressing the slave-trade; for, in my humble opinion, the squadron has proved inefficient in so doing.”—*Second Report of Slave-trade Committee, 1848, pp. 15–21.*

Mr. J. L. HOOK.—“From the information which you gathered while you were on the coast of Africa, were you led to the conclusion that the slave-trade is in a fair way of extinction, by means of the British squadron on the coast?—I am afraid that, however effective the squadron may be in checking the supply of slaves, the squadron will never have the effect of destroying the slave-trade. You are of opinion, that although they may give it a partial check, they will never succeed in extinguishing the trade?—In my humble opinion, I should say, certainly not, and past experience will bear me out in that opinion. Do you understand that the British fleet on the coast is in a state of great activity?—Very much so, indeed; more so of late than it ever has been. The French have lately added a number of vessels to the squadron. I believe now the arrangement is, that a French vessel and an English vessel both cruise off a particular station together. Is the slave-trade at all nearer extinction now than it was before this efficient force was stationed on the coast?—I should say not. Do you consider that our expensive operations on the coast have diminished the slave-trade?—No; I think that they have merely had the effect of checking the supply of slaves, but I should say that the demand has been as great as ever.”—*Ibid.* p. 25.

J. KING, Esq., M.D.—“You must be generally acquainted with the system by which this country proposes to itself to put down the slave-trade?—I am. What is your opinion of the success which has attended that system?—I do not think that it has at all conduced to put down the trade in slaves. You do not think that it has succeeded?—It has not succeeded. You do not think that it is calculated to succeed?—It is not calculated to suppress the slave-trade. Have you reason to believe that at the present moment the slave-trade is going on with great activity?—I have. Do you think that the British squadron on the coast has actually prevented Brazil from receiving the number of slaves which it required for its own purposes?—Notwithstanding all our vigilance, Brazil has ever found the means, it appears, of supplying itself abundantly with slaves. Are you of opinion that the supply has been almost equal to the demand, notwithstanding the operations of the squadron?—Yes, I have no doubt that it has. Has the operation of the squadron on the coast been unattended with evil?—It has been the means of aggravating fearfully the miseries of the slaves. It has, in your apprehension, not only failed in its object of preventing the slave-trade, but it has also aggravated the sufferings of the slaves?—Yes, to a most incredible extent.”—*Ibid.* p. 30.

JOSÉ CLIFFE, M.D.—“Is the opinion, as far as you know, entertained in Brazil that the British squadron will be able to stop the trade?—No; we consider that it cannot do it. Do you consider that it can check the trade to any considerable degree?—You may check it on any one given point for a certain time, but it would only be on a given point, because the slaves would be carried to some other place, where they could be embarked. Are you acquainted with the state of the naval force which Great Britain has now stationed on the coast of Africa?—Only from hearsay. Is it generally understood to be in a state of efficiency and great activity?—Yes; we believe that they do everything that men can do, with the mistaken view which they have of doing a thing of that kind, and attempting to do an impossibility. Then in Brazil you look upon the undertaking of the British squadron on the coast of Africa as wild and impracticable?—One party views it in that light; another party views it that you have a wish to check the rising

prosperity of Brazil. With respect to the opinion formed of the probable success of the British squadron on the coast of Africa, is the opinion generally entertained that it is ever likely to be attended with success?—We are perfectly well aware that it never will be attended with success, as regards entirely checking the slave-trade. Do you expect personally that it will be attended with more success than it has been attended with hitherto?—No, I do not; I am satisfied, from what I know, both of Brazil and of the coast of Africa, that it will not be attended with success by any means that lie within your power to make use of. You cannot, then, conceive of any measures that the British Government could undertake for the purpose of entirely suppressing the slave-trade by an armed force, which could be attended with success?—No. You look upon it as altogether hopeless?—As altogether hopeless. After having been tried in every shape, diplomatic, and by blockading the coast of Brazil, and now the African coast, I do not know anything else that you could do with decided success; you have tried all that, and last year the price of slaves came down thirty per cent., and this year, no doubt, it will come down twenty-five per cent. more. It is more extensively engaged in, and more vigorously?—Yes. And the hopes of the parties are higher?—Of course.”—*Ibid.* pp. 37, 38.

T. B. HORSFALL, Esq.—“Are you an African merchant, residing at Liverpool?—I am. Are you of opinion that the keeping of a large squadron on the coast of Africa will effectually accomplish the suppressing of the slave-trade?—I am decidedly of opinion that it never will; the coast is too extensive.”—*Ibid.* pp. 82—84.

T. R. H. THOMPSON, Esq., M.D.—“Are you of opinion that the operations of the squadron have any great tendency to stop the slave-trade?—From what I have seen on the coast, and from the knowledge which I have of the African character, I am afraid it has a tendency rather to increase it, as it keeps up the excitement. Are you prepared to give an opinion to the Committee as to the most effectual means of putting down the slave-trade?—It is not to be put down by preventive force, in my opinion.”—*Ibid.* pp. 111—115.

J. B. MOORE, Esq., a merchant of Liverpool, having resided in Brazil fourteen years.—“I think you stated, that while there is a great demand for labour in Brazil, the only labour now known being that of slaves, neither the British Government with a squadron operating on the west coast of Africa, nor the Brazilian Government, by such means as are at its disposal, can prevent the slave-trade?—I gave it as my decided opinion, that you cannot prevent it; that if you blockade the coast of Africa, you cannot prevent them taking away slaves from the coast of Africa. On the other hand, if they get away from that coast, you cannot prevent them being landed in Brazil, because the length of the coast is so great, nearly a thousand leagues; there is, in general, moderate weather; and there are a great number of places, rivers and bights, where the slaves can be landed at almost any time, so that it would be impossible to prevent it?”—*Ibid.* p. 144.

JOHN LILLEY, Esq.—“How long have you been acquainted with the coast of Africa?—Nineteen years. Have you resided there for a considerable time?—About eleven out of them. You have had considerable experience on the coast of Africa, and you have seen the effect of our squadron; is it your opinion, from the knowledge which you have acquired, that the squadron will effectually put down the slave-trade?—I do not think it ever will. Do you think that any augmentation of the force that this country is likely to employ would be effectual in extinguishing the slave-trade?—I think not. Supposing it to be the object of this country to suppress the slave-trade, would you or would you not recommend to this Committee to suggest to her Majesty’s Government the expediency of removing the squadron?—Decidedly I would.”—*Third Report*, pp. 15—23.

[For further testimony on the impracticability of suppressing the slave-trade by the cruising squadron, the reader’s attention is directed to page 170 of the present *Reporter*, where additional evidence, drawn from independent sources, will be found.]

SLAVEHOLDING MINING COMPANIES.

Our readers will have noticed, from time to time, the efforts which the Anti-slavery Society have made to expose, in their true light, the proceedings of the Brazilian and Cuban Mining Companies, in relation to the treatment of their slaves, and the earnest appeals which have been made to induce the more humane portion of those companies to interpose in their behalf, and to take immediate steps to secure their emancipation.

In continuation of these efforts, we now present to our readers some remarkable documents which have appeared in the *Morning Post* and the *Mining Journal*, both of which have not hesitated to expose the cruelties perpetrated on the slaves belonging to the Brazilian Mining Company, and to hold up to the just indignation of the public the parties implicated in these disgraceful transactions.

Though these papers, ignorantly we believe, occasionally attack the Anti-slavery Society, we sincerely thank them for the service which their exposures have rendered to the cause of suffering and oppressed humanity.

(From the *Mining Journal*, September 1st.)

“We continue to receive constant communications on the question of slavelabour in the mines, of which Englishmen are the proprietors, and calling on us to use our best energies to deprecate a system which is so totally at variance with Christian principles, and one so fatal to life amongst a class of persons the most wretched of all human beings. We cheerfully respond, by again bringing the subject before the public, and making some extracts from an able letter, signed ‘A Cornishman.’ He says—‘I am glad to find by your journal, it is proposed to send out a corps of Cornish or other miners to Brazil, for the purpose of working the mines of the St. John del Rey Mining Company, and emancipating the unfortunate slaves belonging to this concern, who are now dying in such numbers from being overworked to keep up produce, that in a short time there will not be sufficient hands to work one half of the mines, and the company will be totally ruined if more force is not obtained.’ There is no doubt that these beings are worked to an extent quite incompatible with their strength, and to such excess has the system been carried, that the slave-owners themselves will not let out their slaves to meet a certain death in the mines of Morro Velho. The only remedy for this is to send out about 500 Cornish miners to carry on the necessary operations.

“The slaves who are now working as ‘borers’ could then be removed at once, and sent to lighter work. It would be most advantageous in the end to the interests of the slaveholders, confer happiness on the helpless slaves, who are now forced to tax their strength according to the caprice of their cruel taskmasters, and be of vast utility to our miners in Cornwall. The only difficulty in the matter is the expense, and the serious effect it would have, temporarily, on the dividends. It has been suggested that new shares should be issued for this purpose, or the dividends suspended two or three years; but ‘A Cornishman’ draws our attention to the fact, that there is still £5 unpaid on the existing shares, and recommending that this sum should be forthwith called up to form the fund required. * * Doing this, and suspending the dividends for a year, would bring the concern into a healthy condition, and remove the danger which now exists of its being ruined by the loss of the slaves, to say nothing of ‘the illegality and cruelty of holding slaves.’

“It is clear to the most obtuse, that something energetic must be done promptly, or else the whole concern will suffer to an extent which will take years to redeem. If once the works stop, we all know the serious consequences which must immediately ensue. However, the parties interested have had warning enough, and the consequences must be upon their own heads. If it does come to pass, quicker than anticipated, it will be the just meed for the tenacious manner in which this and other companies have upheld and continued slave labour—have heedlessly sacrificed the lives of their fellow-creatures, and for no other objects than to keep up the produce of the mines and prevent a falling off in the dividends. The total abolition of slavery will come, as surely as there is always a day of retribution for deeds and acts opposed to the laws of God and man.”

(From the *Morning Post* of Sept. 10.)

“Recent advices from Brazil show a lamentable state of things at Morro Velho, the head quarters of the St. John del Rey Mining Company. In a former article, it will be remembered, we drew attention to the dreadful mortality which existed amongst the slaves belonging to the company; and with reference to the return of forty deaths during five months, as stated in the official communication from the board of directors, we pointed out that the percentage of mortality was nine per cent. per annum as compared with the whole population, nineteen per cent. as compared with the adults, and forty per cent. as compared with the number of ‘borers,’ amongst whom almost the entire deaths occurred. It now appears that the actual number of fatal cases during those five months was forty-seven, instead of forty, which necessarily increases the percentage from nine to ten per cent., or to one tithe of the population; from nineteen to twenty-two and a half as compared with the adults; and from forty to forty-seven per cent. as compared with the borers, who, one and all, are slaves. This really is a frightful state of things, and something must be done promptly

to put an end to this wholesale sacrifice of human life. We wish we could say that this distressing statement was the worst side of the picture, but we are compelled to mention that the number of deaths during the month of May, the period of the last return, was fourteen, or equal to 168 during the year, being fifteen per cent. of the entire population; thirty-five and a half per cent. on the adults, and seventy per cent. on the number of borers. No less than fourteen died within a few hours of being 'excused' from further labour. It seems almost incredible that such a state of things can exist on property belonging to Englishmen, but it is nevertheless the fact, and would be revolting even if it occurred to the employed of savages. No doubt, statistics, more or less similar, could be furnished in respect of the other slaveholding mining companies; but they prudently strive to hide their proceedings in darkness, and keep perfect silence on all these points. The St. John del Rey Company have, however, stood forth as the champions and vindicators of slavery, and boldly before the world, in an official letter from the secretary, declared that the expediency of upholding slavery is a matter of opinion. It is no wonder, therefore, that this company should have obtained an unenviable notoriety, and that we should be constantly in receipt of letters detailing particulars of events. The official letter alluded to was unquestionably the most indiscreet document we have perused for a long time, but it has tended materially to stir up the question of these companies holding and employing slaves, not only in a legal point of view, but in every way affecting humanity, and so, consequently, has done infinite good. We quite agree with our contemporary of the *Mining Journal*, who has an editorial article upon the subject, that the 'total abolition of slavery will come, as surely as there is always a day of retribution for deeds and acts opposed to the laws of God and man.' The chairman of this company has the character of being one of the most shrewd men in the city of London; and we can, therefore, only suppose that this celebrated document was issued in opposition to his better judgment. The condition of the slave, whose death alone could remove him from his misery, seems to have interfered but little with the plans devised as the best for increasing the dividends; and the fact is curious, for, as we have before remarked, the great supporters of 'universal peace,' and professors of philanthropy and brotherly love, are the chief or largest shareholders in this company, and consequently the staunch abettors of all they pretend to deprecate. For the one mercenary object in view, Quakers and Jews, Protestants and Roman Catholics, have joined together, and declared war to the death against the helpless slaves. Let no quarter, they say, be given, and let no man be removed from labour until within an hour of death. All slaves, we are assured, are more or less predisposed to disease of the lungs, and it were superfluous to say that over-work must tend more than anything else to consummate the fatal malady. Formerly, each man was required to break twenty tons of stone per month, but as the yield of the precious metal sought for fell off, the proportion was augmented, until it has now reached the enormous quantity of twenty-eight and a half tons per month, the increase amounting to nearly forty per cent. This is the main cause of the dreadful mortality which decimates the corps of the St. John del Rey Company, and which threatens to bring the concern to a standstill. Yet, with all this, it is with difficulty the shipments are kept up. The return for the month of May is 23,383 oitavas. It gives, certainly, only about three lbs. weight of gold less than April, but we are advised that the return of stone was considerably less, in consequence of the diminished number of hands by death, and that the 'halvans' (or refuse) were put into requisition to make up the average quantity."

Evidently stung by the strictures of these papers, and anxious to defend themselves as far as they can, the directors of the St. John Del Rey Mining Company issued, on the 19th Sept. last, the following circular letter to the shareholders, in which they endeavour to palliate their conduct, and to find an excuse for continuing the use of slave labour.

Sir, In consequence of erroneous misrepresentations which have appeared in public regarding the proceedings of this company at Morro Velho, it is expedient to give to the proprietors a statement of the company's proceedings there, subsequent to the publication of the last report. The produce for the four months subsequent to the report is as follows:—In March, 22,177 oits.; April, 22,622 oits.; May, 21,985 oits.; June, 21,985 oits., being an average of 22,894 oits. per month. The monthly average of the preceding four months was 22,894 oits. The amount of net profit at Morro Velho for

the said four months, from March to June inclusive, has been £13,300, equal to £39,900 per annum. The net profit at Morro Velho, for the year ending February last, was £33,333.

Regarding the state of the mines, the following is an extract from the superintendent's letter of the 18th May last:—"The lode (according to Capt. Treloar's last report) never presented, as a whole, a more cheering aspect; it is not only maintaining its size and quality, but is enlarging and improving, especially at the eastern part of the Gut, and at the western part of the East Quebra Panella. At the surface, in the line of the part referred to in the Gut, the lode was only about 4 ft. wide; it is now 20 ft. wide, and in quality of the first order, yielding probably 7 to 8 oitavas per ton. At the part referred to in the East Quebra Panella, there used to be killas; this has disappeared, and in its place we have a lode 18 ft. wide." The directors stated, in their last report, that there had been an unusual amount of sickness prevalent at Morro Velho; that the deaths among the negroes had amounted to 59 out of a population of 1106, being 5½ per cent. for the year; while, in 1847, the mortality had been only 2 6-10 per cent. The surgeon said, in reference thereto, in his annual report—"We have been visited by three distinct epidemics; two in which influenza was the prevailing disease, the third diarrhoea; and, although neither of these periods was remarkable for mortality, yet it is utterly impossible for disease to rage to such an extent, without leaving certain traces prejudicial to the constitution and health of the subjects attacked, producing an aptitude for the conception of more active disease, and, in diminishing the physical powers, leaving the constitution less capable of resisting any further encroachment on its appliances."

From the 1st of January to the 30th June, the number of deaths among the negroes has been 53, of which there have been seven women and three children. Five of the deaths of the men proceeded from accidents in the mines. The directors hope that the mortality is decreasing, as they find that the number of deaths, which in May amounted to twelve, had diminished in June to seven; while, from the 1st to the 9th July, there had been but one death. This diminution of labour would have somewhat affected the amount of the returns, but that recourse was had to the pile of rejected ore. When the supply of ore is abundant, it is picked, and the rejected part thrown on the pile of rejected ore. Whenever, from any cause, there is a temporary deficiency of supply of ore for the stamps, this pile is resorted to. In the month of March, out of 6050 tons of ore stamped, 191 tons were taken from the "rejected" pile. In April, 691 tons out of 6075. In May, 656 tons out of 6583. In June, 473 tons out of 6127. The directors have no doubt that as soon as the present unhealthiness shall have passed away from Morro Velho, the superintendent will be able to hire more negroes. By the last advices he had engaged six more.

The directors think it right, as an act of justice to the superintendent at Morro Velho, to repel, in the strongest terms, the insinuations which have been made against him—that the negroes are overworked, and that this mortality has been the consequence. They believe that no one can have watched over the negroes with a more careful and humane solicitude than that gentleman has done. One of his first objects, when he took charge of the superintendence, was to erect for them a new and commodious hospital, provided with every comfort, and equal to the hospitals of Europe. In every other respect he has paid a marked attention to their health and domestic comfort. The negroes were, at their own earnest desire, allowed to work over-time, on being paid for it; but, in order to prevent this privilege being abused by the negroes themselves, the following resolutions were established:—

1. None but first-class blacks to be allowed to bore on over-time.
2. The mining captain to furnish two lists of the men he permits to bore over-time—viz.: one list to the medical officer, and a copy to the superintendent.
3. The surgeon, being furnished with the list, will continually watch and inspect each of these individuals, so as to detect the slightest symptom of any bad effect arising from their additional labour.
4. The night corps not to be allowed to bore on over-time, because it would detain them in the mine till too late an hour in the morning, and would, therefore, prevent them from getting a sufficiency of sleep.
5. Boring on over-time to be confined to the day corps, and, at all events at first, not to exceed one hole per man per week.
6. But the night corps and the second-class blacks, though excluded from "boring" on over-time, are to be allowed to do "surface-work" on over-time for two hours each day—say, from half-past ten to half-past twelve o'clock.

Thus, while their solicitation was granted, every precaution was adopted to prevent its proving injurious to them. The same amount of mortality that has latterly been experienced on the establishment has been met with before. In the year 1840, the deaths amounted to 53, out of a population of less than 500. The sanitary condition of Morro Velho fluctuates as it does in other places. In 1847 it was, as before remarked, only 2 6-10 per cent. The attacks that have been made upon the company, for employing negroes at all, are of the most unjustifiable character. The company purchased this property with the negroes upon it; and, as their

workings have, from time to time, extended, they have hired other negroes, as they are lawfully entitled to do. It is almost the only description of labour that exists in the country. (The company also employ all the free labour they can obtain.) It is no fault of the company's that such is the social condition of Brazil. The directors have no power to alter it. If they were to propose to emancipate their negroes at once, the Government of the country would not permit it. Nor would any considerate person, who had the welfare of the negroes at heart, entertain such a project for a moment.

What the directors have done, and are doing, is this: they are seeking to improve the moral condition of the negroes; they provide them with good food, good clothing, and other comforts (the negroes have gardens, pigs, and poultry); they encourage a spirit of industry amongst them, by dividing them into classes, and encouraging the most deserving; they endeavour to teach them the difference between right and wrong, by means of religious instruction and religious worship; they cause their children to be brought up to mechanical arts. In this way, and by encouraging matrimony amongst them, they are endeavouring gradually to improve their condition, to elevate them in the scale of humanity, and so prepare them for any change which the course of events may hereafter bring about. In taking this course, they are following the example of one of the most eminent religious bodies in this country, acting under a royal charter of incorporation, to which estates in the West Indies, worked by negroes, were bequeathed. That body did not conceive the wild project of turning these negroes loose upon the world. They exercised, for a long course of years, a kind and parental care over them, until the way was prepared for an alteration in their social condition. The directors hope that the time will come when a change in the social condition of Brazil, in this respect, may also take place.

They are ready to do everything in their power, by prudent and judicious measures, to accelerate it, without creating alarm and hostility in the minds of the Government of the country in which they are working. Acting thus, under a conscientious impression of the responsibility devolving upon them—with a deep sense of all the evils of slavery—doing all in their power, practically, to remove those evils, so far as the company's negroes are concerned—the directors repel with indignation the disgraceful imputations cast on them—mixed up, as those imputations are, with gross misstatements and injurious insinuations as to the position of the company's affairs. These imputations have, in a recent number of a morning paper, been carried to such a length, that the directors have instructed the company's solicitors to give the writer an opportunity of establishing the truth of them in a court of justice.

The directors did, on a recent occasion, instruct the secretary to make an answer to some very unfounded statements which appeared in the same paper. The answer was inserted—but accompanied by as great a misstatement on the part of the writer as any which had preceded it. The secretary had stated that, between the 1st January and the last advices then received from Brazil, there had been 40 deaths out of 1106. On this the aforesaid writer remarks—"It is true that the population at the mines is 1106; but of this number about 500 only are, as we are informed, adults, and the remainder children, amongst whom there is scarcely any mortality at all." Thus, this writer asserts that out of a population of 1106 there were 606 children—the truth being that the number of children was only 169; that among the children there is scarcely any mortality at all—the fact being that, out of the said 40 deaths, 7 were children. The writer then goes on, upon these fabrications, to affirm the monstrous untruth that the deaths among the borers are at the rate of 40 per cent. per annum; and, in a more recent article, he states it to be 47 per cent. per annum!—W. ROUTH, Secretary: Tokenhouse-yard, Sept. 19.

This circular has not been permitted to remain long without a rejoinder, and, what is not a little remarkable, the same individual whose signature is officially attached to it is the very party who now comes forward to affirm and illustrate the charges brought against the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, of which he is the Secretary. It is due, however, to Mr. Routh, to say that his signature was attached to the circular without his permission.

London, 8, Tokenhouse-yard, October 15, 1849.

TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE ST. JOHN DEL REY MINING COMPANY.

Gentlemen,—Circumstances which have lately arisen force me to address you. To most of you I have the honour of being personally known, and I trust you will read with attention what I am about to write.

The directors of this company have thought fit to issue a circular, which you will all have read. This apparently contradicts what I have often stated to those shareholders with whom I am in correspondence, and would lead you to suppose, if not answered, that I have been deceiving you. What I have stated is this:—"That the mortality amongst the negroes is so great, that in a short time the workings of the mine must be either abandoned, or the greater portion." This statement the circular goes to disprove; but, nevertheless, it is perfectly true. The great mortality is among the under-ground negroes—the borers, kibblefillers, &c.—therefore it is not correct to take a rate of 5½ per cent. on a population

of 1,106. At the time the directors issued this circular, the deaths of male adults amounted to forty-three, out of a population, more or less, of 170 borers, (the free borers are not included); kibblefillers &c., perhaps ninety-six more. [Since the publication of the circular later accounts have been received, and the sickness still continues as great as ever, and several deaths have occurred.] But, of the above forty-three deaths, five men were killed from accident. It is not stated, however, that one of these five negroes met his death thus:—He was sent to the surgeon by the manager of the blacks, who stated that the man's sight was defective, and that he ought not to be sent to work. The surgeon's reply was, (and I have a copy of it,) that he could not find anything the matter with his sight. The negro was sent to work; and, not being able to discover objects properly, he tumbled down the ladder going into the mine, and was killed. I firmly believe—and there are many persons here who will corroborate what I say (two of whom are very recently arrived from the mines)—that the negroes are worked to such an extent that they die from exhaustion. Two medical gentlemen have examined into the medical reports from Morro Velho, and one, if not both, is of this opinion. The directors talk of the mortality of 1847 being only 26-10ths per cent. They might also have said that the first six months in 1848 were very healthy, and the great sickness or "epidemic," so termed by the medical officer, did not commence until the new thirty-six head-stamps were at work. This is the strongest argument they can use against their so-called "facts." In 1847, the returns from the mines averaged about 15,000 octavas per month, and there were very few negroes hired in 1848 and 1849. After the new thirty-six head-stamps were erected, every exertion was made to get force; and the negroes, from breaking nineteen to twenty-one tons of stone per man per month, gradually reached twenty-eight and a half tons of stone per man per month; and the produce of gold averaged as high as 20,000 octavas per month, and latterly 22,000 to 23,000 octavas. This is sufficient in itself to show that the negroes are overworked. It is said they work twelve hours under ground instead of eight. The four hours are called "overtime;" but the negroes do not work over-time of their own free-will; they are obliged to do so. It may be observed, also, that the work performed by the negroes is "task-work;" that is to say, they are obliged to bore in the stone (which is of the hardest nature) two holes of a certain depth. Some negroes may perform their task in eight hours, and then do other work; while other negroes, who are not so strong, will require ten, eleven, or twelve hours, perhaps, to finish their holes. The great mortality has ensued since the erection of these new stamps; and to obtain more force to provide stuff for them, the superintendent at Morro Velho strained every nerve. At first, by reason of hiring the negroes for six years, and paying for them whether they lived or died, he succeeded. I have stated that it was now impossible to hire more blacks. The circular states that they have hired six men; but it does not state that nine have been removed, and that when the term of years for which the negroes are hired elapses, their owners will remove them, at least those who will have survived, and they bitterly regret ever sending them to Morro Velho.

From the above statement of facts, the shareholders can readily form their own opinion as to the cause of the great mortality among the negroes. The mines are unfairly worked, all the force is concentrated upon the widest parts of the lode. The Gambia, the eastern end of the Cachoeira, and West Quebra Panella, are left unworked, and very soon the supplies of ore must fall off most considerably. The crack in the Cachoeira may also turn out very serious, and that part of the mine may crush in from one day to another. These facts which I now assert will soon come out in a court of law, and then it will be seen whether I am correct or not.

Some of the shareholders have expressed a wish that free labourers should be sent out from the Tyrol to Brazil, but the expense would be enormous, and they could not stand the work. There is not at present, from all I can learn, the most remote chance of obtaining more force. The Brazilians will not hire out their blacks to be sacrificed. I must also observe that the profits per month are not as stated by the circular. The costs per month are made out on a principle which does not show the real expenditure.

I shall now leave this part of the subject, as in a short time the public will be enabled to judge more correctly, when laid before the law officers of the crown. The chairman, who is the sole manager here, having always a majority with him, will not believe or attend to any of these things. Mr. Routh, the only director who expresses any opinion but that of the chairman, urged the board most strongly to send out instructions to the superintendent at the mines to reduce the amount of work done, but to no avail; the produce must be kept up, *coûte qui coûte*; but the time is fast approaching when the produce will fall off most rapidly. The directors, in their circular, assume a most praiseworthy motive in upholding slavery, and allude to a most eminent religious body having held slaves. I think it unnecessary to make any observations on this part of the directors' circular, feeling convinced that the majority of the shareholders will, after the previous statement of facts relative to the working of the mine, look with suspicion upon the above philanthropic statement of the directors.

In conclusion, allow me to give you a word of advice. Elect indepen-

dent men as directors, who will have an opinion of their own, and such men as can have no possible interest in entering into commercial transactions on their own private account with the company. Virtually, the affairs of this company are exclusively in the hands of the chairman; and as he finds that I will not suffer the shareholders to be kept in ignorance of the state of the company's affairs, he wishes me to resign. This I will not do. The board of directors may remove me if they think proper, and I shall then be happy to be disconnected with a company conducted in the manner this is.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful servant,

W. ROUTH, Secretary.

P.S.—The directors' statement of 19th September last was not signed by me, or by my permission; but I forwarded the circular to each proprietor who received the last dividend, in my capacity as secretary, by order of the board of directors; and I am not answerable for the statements contained in the circular.

Just as we were going to press, an additional document, issued from the office of the company, made its appearance in the *Daily News*, which we have thought it necessary to publish, as it professes to be a justification of the position taken by them. It will be found at page 172 of our present number.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER the 1st, 1849.

Ten years ago, the Anti-slavery Society sent an agent to Brazil for the purpose of inquiring, among other things, into the condition of the slaves employed by British Mining Companies in that country. The result of his inquiries was, that he found the number of slaves belonging to the Imperial Brazilian Gongo or Soco Mine to be 418; to the Brazilian Company Cata Branca Mine, 406; to the Brazilian Company Concêicao, 50; to the Macaubas and Cocoes Company, 619; to the St. Joã del Rey Company, 360; and to the Candonga Mine, 240; in all, 2,093 slaves owned by the proprietors of these several mines. He found, that at that period the agents of the companies were in the habit of purchasing native Africans, the victims of the slave-trade, either to replace those who died in their employ, or were required to extend their operations. In reference to their treatment he observed, "It must be distinctly understood that they in no way depart from the general practice of compelling their slaves to work when they please, where they please, and how they please, whilst they withhold from them all the net proceeds of their labour. To effect this, they (to use their own words) 'feed them well, clothe them well, and flog them well.' This last measure is, indeed, a matter of course; for unrequited labour cannot be procured without coercion, either from man or beast." He also states that "The Imperial Brazilian Mine established a school, about three years ago (1836), but soon abandoned it in consequence of the displeasure of their neighbours. Hence, as education offers the only barrier to immorality, which is so rampant in Brazil, it is not to be expected that, under such a system, the English, or any other set of men, can improve the character of those born in their bonds."

In consequence of the facts produced, several individual shareholders of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company issued a spirited address to those interested in it with themselves, calling upon them, as Englishmen and as Christians, to give their slaves immediate and entire freedom; and on the 13th of May, 1841, they brought the subject before a general meeting of the proprietary body, when, after an animated discussion, the proposition was rejected, seven only voting for it, while a large majority determined to perpetuate the revolting system, for the purpose of securing its unholy profits. Now, it should be known, that the negroes purchased by these companies were, almost without exception, native Africans, who, contrary to the most solemn treaties, and even the laws of Brazil, were surreptitiously imported; and that, consequently, they were not, and are not, held in bondage by any legal title, but solely because the Government winks at the iniquity, and the custom of the country sanctions it. There is something truly horrible in the idea that British capital should ever have been employed in this way, and that any portion of English society should be induced to draw their incomes from so polluted a source, much less that they should be found to justify such an act. It is said by one of our contemporaries, the *Morning Post*, in commenting with just severity upon the facts which have recently been brought to light in relation to the working of these mines, that "The condition of the slave, whose death alone could remove him from his misery,

seems to have interfered but little with the plans devised as the best for increasing the dividends; and the fact is curious, for, as we have before remarked, the great supporters of 'universal peace,' and the professors of philanthropy and brotherly love, are the chief or largest shareholders in this company, and consequently the staunch abettors of all they pretend to deprecate. For the one mercenary object in view, Quakers and Jews, Protestants and Roman Catholics, have joined together, and declared war to the death against the helpless slaves." What degree of truth there may be in the foregoing statement we are unable, from personal knowledge, to say, but we are of opinion that our contemporary would perform a great service to the cause of humanity, if, having access to confirmatory documents, he would unmask the hypocrites, and hold them up to the just indignation which their infamy deserves. We happen to know some members of the Society of Friends who, as soon as they became aware of the facts of the case, offered the dividends on their shares to the Anti-slavery Society, to be held in trust, for the benefit of the slaves, and, on the offer being declined, for obvious reasons, they refused to appropriate the dividends, whilst others have thrown up their shares altogether. This, at least, was honourable in them; they declined to participate in the gains of oppression, or pollute their hands with gold wrung from the heart's blood of the oppressed slave.

Our thoughts have been directed to the past by certain disclosures which have reached us, as to the present treatment of the slaves employed in working the St. John del Rey Mine. From a circular which the directors of this company have sent to the slaveholders, intended to correct "erroneous misrepresentations," we learn that "They stated, in their last report, that there had been an unusual amount of sickness prevalent at Morro Velho; that the deaths among the negroes had amounted to fifty-nine out of a population of 1,106, being five and a half per cent. for the year; while, in 1847, the mortality had been only 2 6-10 per cent." The directors further add—"From the 1st of January to the 30th of June, the number of deaths among the negroes has been fifty-three, of which there have been seven women and three children. Five of the deaths of the men proceeded from accidents in the mines. The directors hope that the mortality is decreasing, as they find that the number of deaths, which, in May, amounted to twelve, had diminished, in June, to seven; while from the 1st to the 9th of July there had been but one death." The comment of the secretary of the company on this statement is as follows:—"After stating that the circular of the directors was not signed by him, nor with his permission, he observes—"The mortality amongst the negroes is so great that, in a short time, the workings of the mine must be either abandoned, or the greater portion." He then goes on to say that "The great mortality is among the under-ground negroes—the borers, kibblefillers, &c.—therefore it is not correct to take a rate of five and a half per cent. on a population of 1,106. At the time the directors issued their circular, the deaths of the male adults amounted to forty-three, out of a population, more or less, of 170 borers, (the free borers not included); kibblefillers, &c., perhaps ninety-six more. But of the forty-three deaths, five men were killed by accident. It is not stated, however, that one of these five negroes met his death thus:—He was sent to the surgeon by the manager of the blacks, who stated that the man's sight was defective, and that he ought not to be sent to work. The surgeon's reply was, that he could not find anything the matter with his sight. The negro was sent to work; and not being able to discover objects properly, he tumbled down the ladder going into the mine, and was killed." Now to what is this great mortality to be attributed? The directors say to an epidemic—"an unusual sickness;" the secretary says, "I firmly believe—and there are many persons here who will corroborate what I say (two of whom are recently arrived from the mines)—that the negroes are worked to such an extent that they die from exhaustion. Two medical gentlemen have examined into the medical reports from Morro Velho, and one, if not both, is of this opinion." In order to weaken the effect of this terrible statement, "The directors think it right, as an act of justice to the superintendent of Morro Velho, to repel, in the strongest terms, the insinuations which have been made against him—that the negroes are overworked, and that this mortality has been the consequence." But they do not deal with the facts presented to the public by the secretary, who asserts that "the great sickness, or 'epidemic,' so termed by the medical officers, did not commence until the new thirty-six headstamps were at work." After these machines were brought into operation, "every exertion was made to get force; and the

negroes, from breaking 19 to 21 tons of stone per month, gradually reached 28½ tons per man per month; and the produce of gold averaged as high as 20,000 octavas per month, and latterly to 23,000 octavas. *This is sufficient in itself,* he adds, *"to show that the negroes are overworked."* It is by these means gentlemen of the Brazilian Mining Companies are able to put forth such statements as appeared in the *Daily News* of the 30th ult., which show that the profit cleared by the St. John Del Rey Company, during the months of March, April, May, and June, this year, amounted to £13,236. 2s. But the controversy between the secretary and the directors has not yet ended. The latter tells us that the slaves at Morro Velho had received the "announcement that they would be allowed the privilege of earning some money by boring an additional hole weekly on over-time." The superintendent, in communicating this fact, says, that "they jumped, they danced, they shouted, they gave 'Vivas' for the superintendent and their mining captain, and then went off to their daily task as happy as princes." Poor wretches! They are compelled to bore two holes per day, which occupies the strongest of them eight hours, and the weakest from ten to twelve hours, for which they get nothing but a slave's food and clothing; and then a privileged portion of them, under the superintendence of the surgeon, are to be allowed to bore an extra hole per week for money! O, generous directors! the very "privilege" you grant your slaves conveys to every reflecting mind your strongest condemnation. Pray tell us by what right you hold these Africans as your slaves? Who gave you authority to compel their labour? You tell us you bought them; but of whom did you buy them? Of the slave-trader, who obtained them from the coast. But though you paid the utmost price for them, this gives you no right over them; they never did, and never can belong to you, but in the worst possible sense, and by means which humanity and justice equally abhors. Every ounce of gold which they add to your treasures will be "a swift witness against you;" and should you escape the penalty due to such crimes from your fellow-men, be assured that you cannot escape "the righteous judgment of God." He will avenge the poor outraged slave, and break in pieces the oppressor. The secretary denies the statement of the directors, that the negroes "jump for joy," for the "privilege" of working extra time. He says, "It is said they work twelve hours instead of eight under ground. The four hours are called 'over-time;' but the negroes do not work over-time of their own free-will; they are obliged to do so." These points of difference must be settled; we are told they will be by a court of law, and that the public will have an opportunity of looking a little more closely into the affairs of the Brazilian mining companies than they have hitherto been permitted to do. There is one point which we hope will not be passed over in the evidence to be presented in support of the charges brought against one of them, and that is, whether the negroes held as slaves were native Africans, or country-born, for upon this point will turn their right legally to hold and use them as slaves, for moral right they have none.

In the "circular" of the directors we read, with a disgust amounting to loathing, their attempted justification of their position as slaveholders. They are seeking to improve the moral condition of their slaves; they give them good food, clothing, and other comforts; they encourage a spirit of industry among them; they endeavour to teach them the difference between right and wrong, by means of religious instruction and worship; and, finally, they follow the example of one of the most eminent religious bodies in this country, who, having had slaves bequeathed to it, would not turn them "loose upon the world," but kept them with "parental care," until they were prepared for "an alteration in their social condition." This is their justification! We ask these men, how many of the original stock of slaves they have emancipated—how many have died in their service without having enjoyed the blessed advent of freedom—how many children have been born to their slaves, and whether they have been nurtured for liberty, or to fall into the condition of their parents—what is the amount and nature of the education and religious instruction given to their slaves—and what is the character of those matrimonial connexions which they encourage, but do not "compel?" If we rightly understand Brazilian law, we affirm that slaves cannot marry, or if there be the form, there is no legal validity attached to it. It will be observed, from the letter of the secretary, that the practice now is not to buy slaves, but to hire them for a term of years. This is done to avoid the penalties of the law passed in 1843, which rendered it a felony for these companies, or their agents, to purchase

slaves. But, in morals, where is the difference? In the one case, they become directly interested in human property, and in the other they use the services of a third party, in order that, technically, they may not come within the range of the law, whilst at the same time they are practically violating it. As we shall have occasion to return to this subject again, we here close, for the present, recommending the perusal of the various documents inserted in the present number of the *Reporter* bearing on this subject.

It is not our intention to enter into a controversy either with our contemporary, the *Patriot*, or with his correspondent, who has, during the last few weeks, furnished its columns with so many articles on "The Slave-trade and the African Squadron," though we have been provoked thereto, by the discourteous attacks of the latter on the Anti-slavery Society, because we believe we have an easier and better mode of vindicating its course than of pointing out the blunders, exposing the sophisms, and answering the unfounded allegations, which his articles contain; and that is by producing the evidence, on which he relies, in a fair and honourable manner, and in the sense in which the several witnesses gave it, and not as perverted by him to serve a purpose.

Let any man read the evidence, as we give it in our columns, and we assert that, whatever his general opinion of the expediency of continuing the squadron on the coast of Africa, he must admit that the weight of evidence against its continuance immeasurably preponderates; and that any one who pretends to give that evidence to the public in a contrary sense, must either have misunderstood it himself, or is trying how far he may impose on the ignorant.

The witnesses for the continuance of the squadron, in some form or other, for the suppression of the slave-trade, are the Hon. Capt. Denman, Capt. Matson, Commander Riley, Capt. Butterfield, Commander Birch, R.N., John Carr, Esq., Chief-Justice of Sierra Leone, W. M. Hutton, Esq., and the Revs. Edward Jones, H. Townsend, C. A. Gollmer and H. H. Waddell, Lord Palmerston, and Dr. Lushington; but it will be perceived that the tone in which these several witnesses give their evidence, and the conditions which they annex to it, render it, in many respects, of little value. Capt. Denman proposes a specific plan; but Sir Charles Hotham utterly denies its applicability to more than one hundred miles of the African coast, whilst the whole of the coast to be watched amounts to two thousand one hundred miles; and a recent work, the "African Blockade," by Lieut. Forbes, R.N., employed, during the last year, on the very spot, we believe, where Capt. Denman's scheme could be put in operation, states that, though they were successful in capturing several slavers, yet they learned that some six, or eight, fully laden with slaves, made their escape for Brazil. Com. Birch tells us that the effective force of the squadron must be trebled, the slave-traders punished as pirates, and the barracoons destroyed, or that "we may go on with the squadron that we have now on the coast to all eternity." We scarcely think it worth while to dwell upon the evidence of the reverend gentlemen, much as we esteem them, because, for the most part, they were so circumstanced as to be incompetent to give an opinion of any real value. The Chief-Justice of Sierra Leone confines his evidence principally to the activity of the cruisers—a fact which no one denies, but we really do not see how it bears on the question at issue. Lord Palmerston, as might be expected, is in favour of the squadron, not because it will suppress the slave-trade, but will prevent its extension. Dr. Lushington, to whose opinions we attach the very highest importance, admits that the squadron in its most efficient state "has certainly not attained one end which he contemplated and hoped it would, either in the suppression or diminution of the slave-trade;" and is of "opinion that by the application of any force which this country could now apply to the object, looking at the present causes stimulating the slave-trade, it would not be practicable to suppress the slave-trade, or put a stop to it, but merely to diminish it to a certain extent." With such views we certainly think we have as just a right to claim Dr. Lushington as our opponent. The rest of the witnesses, Com. O'Bryen Hoare, Capt. Chads, Com. F. Montresor, Sir Charles Hotham, late commander of the African squadron, Lord John Hay, a naval officer, and one of the Lords of the Admiralty, Capt. W. Allen, Capt. Stopford, and Capt. G. Mansell, R.N., are in favour of our views; as are also Messrs. Laird, Duncan, Smith, Hook, King, Horsfall, Thompson, Higgins, Lilley, and Capt. Forsham. Nor less so is the evidence of the late J. Bandinel, Esq., for forty years in the Foreign Office, and intimately acquainted with all the phases

of the question. To his judgment, not less than to Dr. Lushington's, we attach the greatest weight; and, without presuming to give our own, which is, at least, as accurate and extensive as our opponent's, and as honestly formed, we are content to leave the verdict, either for or against the continuance of the squadron, to our readers and the public at large. At the same time we cannot avoid saying, to those who advocate the forcible suppression of the slave-trade—Why do you not apply it where it could be most efficient? Instead of sending your squadron to the coast of Africa, why not order it to blockade the ports of Cuba and Brazil? You have a *casus belli* against Spain and Brazil in your violated treaties. Lord Palmerston tells you that his opinion is, "that if the Spanish Government, and if the Government of Brazil, would honestly and effectually fulfil their treaty engagements for the suppression of the slave-trade, the slave-trade would be practically at an end." Strike there, and strike home; but if your anxiety for the abolition of the slave-trade does not carry you so far, join with us in urging on the Government to demand the liberation from slavery of all Africans who have been unlawfully introduced into Cuba and Brazil, or the utter exclusion of their produce from the British markets, until slavery itself shall be abolished by them.

Literature.

Journal of an African Cruiser. By an Officer of the United States Navy. Wiley and Putnam, 1845.

Six Months' Service in the African Blockade, from April to October, 1848. By Lieut. FORBES, R.N. R. Bentley, 1849.

A Voyage to the Slave Coasts of East and West Africa. By the Rev. PASCOE GREENFELL HILL, R.N. Charles Gilpin, London, 1849.

The three volumes before us are characteristic; they clearly reveal, not only the nationality of the writers, but their professions. The American affects to discredit the philanthropy of Great Britain in its earnest and costly endeavours to suppress the slave-trade; and attributes the activity and vigilance of British cruisers in the service to the headmoney and professional rewards obtained by the officers and crews, rather than to any interest they feel in the cause of suffering humanity. The spirit of the writer of the "Journal of an African Cruiser" may be seen in the following quotation:—"The sure cure for the slave-trade," says Mr. Laird, "is in our own hands. It lies in producing cheaper commodities by free labour in our own colonies." "And in order to accomplish this desirable end," says our author, "England will seize upon the liberated Africans, and land them in her West India islands, with the alternative of adding their toil to the amount of her colonial labour, or of perishing by starvation. How much better will their condition be as apprentices in Jamaica or Trinidad, than as slaves in Cuba? Infinitely more wretched! English philanthropy cuts a very suspicious figure, when, not content with neglecting the welfare of those whom she undertakes to protect, she thus attempts to make them subservient to national aggrandisement." On the other hand, however, "The commodore, under whose general direction we have acted, (in the suppression of the slave-trade,) is a gentleman of the highest professional character, persevering, sagacious, and determined, and well-known as such, both in and out of the service. The commanders of the different vessels were likewise men of elevated character, zealous in performing their duty, and honourably ambitious of distinction." We accept the facts of the journalist, but must be excused if we do not accept his imputations, or accredit all his opinions. Apart from its prejudices and assumptions, we have read with interest the "Journal of an African Cruiser," and recommend it to our readers.

"Six Months' Service in the African Blockade" is interesting as a collection of facts, and is free from the blemishes which characterise the former work, but is less accurately written. To us it appears to have been got up in a hurry, but is nevertheless full of important particulars relating to the slave-trade, and the folly of expecting its suppression by the cruising system.

The next little volume is a short narrative of "A Voyage to the Slave Coasts of East and West Africa." A gentleman, who can write so well as the Rev. Mr. Hill, ought to have given us more from his stores of knowledge and observation. His "Fifty Days on Board a Slaver" placed him before the public not only in the light of a humane man, but of a graphic and elegant writer, who could paint without effort the painful scenes which he had witnessed with the hand of a master, and by infusing his own spirit into it, alike arouse the statesman, the philanthropist, and the journalist, to increased abhorrence of the slave-trade, and renewed efforts for its suppression. We would press on Mr. Hill the duty of giving to the world his entire journal, as it is evident he cannot do himself justice in such small publications as his modesty has hitherto led him to give to the world.

We make the following extracts, as supplementary and confirmatory of the evidence given before the Slave-trade Committee, which may be con-

sidered as a sequel to the article in a former part of the *Reporter* on the slave-trade and its remedy.

THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE-TRADE BY THE CRUISING SQUADRON.

From the "Journal of an African Cruiser," by an American Officer.

It will not have escaped the reader's notice, that the foregoing journal of our cruise records not the capture of a single slave vessel, either by our own ship, or any other belonging to the American squadron. Such is the fact, and such it must inevitably be, so long as the circumstances, which prevented our efficiency in that respect, shall continue to exist. The doctrines relative to the right of search, held by our Government, and cordially sanctioned by the people, declare that the cruisers of no foreign flag have a right to search, visit, or in any way detain an American vessel on the high seas. Hence, our national ships can detain or examine none but American vessels, or those which they find sailing under the American flag. But no slave vessel would display this flag. * * * * *

It is well that the public should be prepared for an inefficiency which can hardly fail to continue, and, in justice to the American squadron, it should be imputed to the true cause, and not to any lack of energy or good-will on the part of the officers. Whatever be their zeal (and hitherto they have been active and indefatigable), it is almost certain that their efforts will not be crowned with success, in the capture of a single prize. The commodore, under whose general direction we have acted, is a gentleman of the highest professional character, persevering, sagacious, and determined, and well known as such, both in and out of the service. The commanders of the different vessels were likewise men of elevated character, zealous in performing their duty, and honourably ambitious of distinction. The French, like ourselves, having no reciprocal treaties with Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, are equally unsuccessful in making prizes. Eleven of their vessels of war were stationed on the coast during the period of our cruise, but effected not a single capture. England, by virtue of her treaties with the three nations above-mentioned, empowers her cruisers to take slave vessels under either of their flags. Hence the success of the English commanders; a success which is sometimes tauntingly held up, in contrast with what is most unjustly called the sluggishness of our own squadron.—Pp. 177, 178.

From "The African Blockade," by Lieut. Forbes, R.N.

The slave-trade is a vast speculation. The vast gains attending this traffic are scarcely conceivable, and, from the great number of vessels fitted for the purpose, most certain. The profitable result is pretty well calculated by the merchant; and although it is a lottery to the people employed, he is safe enough. He fits out four, and expects to lose three vessels. If he should lose only two he would consider himself lucky. Captures are, therefore, really of small consequence to the slave merchant, and certainly of little use towards the suppression or extinction of the trade. During twenty-six years 103,000 slaves have been emancipated, while, in the same period, 1,795,000 slaves were actually landed, or rather more than over 69,000 slaves annually! (See Parliamentary Report.) And last year, "notwithstanding the enormous proportion of empty vessels taken," 60,000 slaves were landed! On the other hand, the shipment is generally by agency, the merchant on the coast receiving bills to an enormous amount, payable only in the event of the vessel arriving in port. He is content to bear the loss should she be taken, because one cargo in six will pay him well. As a proof how much must be gained by this system, slaves were sold on the coast of Africa, in 1847, for a mere song—an old musket was considered too much—while in the Brazils they realised £50 a-piece. So long as there is a demand there will be slavers.—Pp. 1, 2.

From a "Voyage to the Slave Coasts of East and West Africa," by Rev. P. G. Hill, R.N.

Serious reflections, however, arise in connexion with this subject, when we proceed to estimate the results of all the skill and spirit which British cruisers bring to the execution of their duty, in capturing and destroying the vessels engaged in the traffic for slaves. Scarcely any principle involving important consequences has been, in modern times, so long and so widely acted on, as the belief in the efficacy of our cruising system to attain the object proposed by it in the suppression of the African slave-trade.

Yet, whoever will but cast an eye on the map of the African Continent, at the long extent of coast, from Sierra Leone to Benguela, on the west; and on the east, from Delagoa Bay to Zanzibar, may judge for himself on the practicability of effectually blockading so vast a tract. An armed force may, indeed, easily, by checking the traffic at one place, cause it to break out with increased activity at another. But the project of blockading two sides of the African Continent, almost any point of which may, on occasion, furnish a slave cargo, is one of the wildest absurdities which could be seriously entertained by a sane mind. It appears, from the best documentary evidence, that the proportion of negroes rescued from slave vessels does not amount to five in the

hundred of the numbers yearly carried from the coasts of Africa. And respecting even those vessels which are seized, it is a very significant circumstance that, in most cases, they appear to have fallen in the way of our cruisers, merely through some slight, unlooked-for accident. Yet there are still persons who insist on the efficacy of the present system for the suppression of the slave-trade!

On one particular, indeed, there seems to exist little difference of opinion. The aggravated horrors which that system has added to the character of the slave-trade, few have been hardy enough to call in doubt. All testimony on the subject establishes the fact that the atrocities inflicted on the wretched victims of the traffic have, in consequence of its attempted suppression, increased to an unbounded extent. Were I to relate the accounts which have come to my knowledge of cruelties practised towards slaves on the coasts of Africa within the last few years, the narrative would, I believe, surpass all that has been generally credited or believed on the subject. An opinion has prevailed that the sympathy felt for such sufferings, and the detestation entertained by the British nation for the slave-trade, have undergone decline of late years. It has been urged that, within the British isles themselves, the agonies of want and of disease have rivalled the fever-pang and the death-thirst within the fatal hold of the slave vessel, and the sufferings of our fellow-countrymen have the first and the strongest claim on our sympathy. There is, however, a distinction which ought not to be overlooked between the two cases thus brought into comparison. The miseries of the slave-trade are no calamities springing out of the earth—no visitation from on high—

“No natural ill—nor heaven-inflicted woe.”

It is man's own hand, raised to oppress and destroy; the sacrifice of human lives by felons and robbers. It is the crime of *murder*, which may surely be expected to draw down the vengeance of heaven on any nation which, directly or indirectly, participates in it.

I am convinced that it is unjust to the feelings of the English nation to assert that it is growing indifferent to such guilt. The anti-slavery cause may appear to have declined in public credit, through the distrust entertained of some who have been forward to connect their names with it, in order to promote party interests or to serve political purposes. Men who carry measures against slavery for the object of gaining popular favour, will be equally ready, with the same object, when circumstances change, to propose measures tending to rivet the chains of the slave. The most uncompromising opponents to the African slave-trade must, however, allow, that no armed force on the coast of Africa can combat the traffic at advantage. It may be doomed to receive its death-blow on the shores of Cuba and Brazil.—Pp. 16–18.

The Island of Cuba: its Resources, Progress, and Prospects. By R. R. MADDEN, M.R.I.A. Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-without, 1849.

The little volume before us is full of facts, either drawn from the author's personal experience, or collected from official and authentic sources. As such we cordially welcome it, and recommend it to our readers. As will be seen, we have transferred to our pages a lengthened extract from the work, to which we call the special attention of our readers, as containing the most reliable and valuable information on the point on which it treats.

CONDITION OF SLAVES IN CUBA.

(From Dr. Madden's "Island of Cuba.")

* * * Tolerably well acquainted with some of the British West India Islands—with one of them both previously and subsequently to the Act of Emancipation—and having seen something of slavery in many Eastern countries, I brought perhaps some little knowledge of the condition of men held in slavery to the subject which has been the object of an anxious inquiry with me, during a residence of upwards of three years in a Spanish colony, where slavery flourishes, and where upwards of 400,000 human beings exist in that condition. Perhaps this extensive acquaintance with slavery in various countries, during the last ten years, may have qualified me to form some opinion of the relative evils or advantages of slavery in a Spanish colony.

“That slavery has always had with the Spaniards a peculiar character of mildness” is an assertion that I have seen stated in books so often, and heard laid down so frequently by merchants who have resided in Cuba; by naval officers who have visited the shores and harbours of that island; and by transient visitors who have made tours of pleasure or a winter journey, in pursuit of health, from one large town on the coast to another, and seen the interior economy of one or two estates of opulent proprietors—what in our colonies would be called “crack plantations”—that I really feel astonished at the amount of error that prevails on this subject—error so great, and held by men entitled to credit, that I have sometimes felt absolutely doubtful of the evidence of my own senses; and when the irresistible conviction of the excessive rigour of slavery in Cuba has been forced on my mind, and when I have dwelt on the appalling scenes I have witnessed, it often seemed hopeless to me, and even imprudent for me to attempt to disabuse the public mind, and set my experience against the opinions of many people whose sentiments on any other subject I considered entitled to respect. But, on a question of such vast importance,

and where erroneous sentiments are calculated to do much injury to the objects of the solicitude of anti-slavery exertion, it would be an act of cowardice to suppress the truth, or at least one's strong persuasion of it, in deference to error, however generally diffused or honestly adhered to it may be. I freely grant that the spirit of these laws and ordinances is humane; but the great question is, are such laws compatible with the interests of the slave-owners? Are they put into execution? Negro slavery, as it ever has existed in the West Indian colonies, has been a condition in which the profitableness to the master of unpaid labour, for the time being, has always rendered the happiness of the labourer a question of comparative unimportance. What we would call humanity to the negro, there is not a proprietor in Cuba who would not deem injustice to the planter. We cannot legislate partially, humanely, and yet efficiently, for any slave colony in a prosperous condition. We may pass measures of general effect for the total abolition of slavery, but we can carry none into execution for effectually modifying its nature, and leaving unpaid labour to be wrung out of its victims, while a show is made of surrounding its compulsion with humane arrangements, duly detailed in the royal cédulas, and set forth in legal books, with all the solemn mockery of Spanish law.

It has been stated as a curious anomaly in the history of Spanish slaves, that while the Indians were treated by the Spaniards with such terrible cruelty, the negroes, it is well known, have always been treated with peculiar mildness. I need hardly observe, that while the poor Indians were writhing under the lash of the most unmitigated cruelty *the world up to that period ever saw*—while the Spanish colonists were exterminating the whole race of their victims by the astounding rigour of their slavery—the kings of Spain were dictating benevolent cédulas and humane ordinances for the treatment of the unfortunate slaves. While the Council of the Indies were continually framing laws for the better regulation of the “repartimientos,” or distributions of the natives—while the heads of the Spanish church—the *mitred politicians of the day—half-statesmen, half-churchmen*—were constantly sending out missions and commissions to co-operate with the illustrious apostle of the Indies, the protector of the slaves; in fact, while all the machinery of the Government that was four thousand miles off, was brought to bear on this question of the amelioration of slavery in the Spanish colonies, yet the Indians perished in the mines, they died under the lash, sunk under famine in caves, or sought in voluntary death a final refuge from Spanish cruelty. Yes, the whole race perished, while the kings of Spain and its ministers were framing laws impracticable, because they were partial, measures of relief for the preservation of the Indian subjects.

The same terrible system of cruelty is going on this day in the Spanish colonies—the same terrible evils are silently in operation. Change the term “Indians,” for “negroes,” the word “mines,” for “plantations,” and in every other respect the same bloody tragedy is acting over again—the same frightful work of extermination, the same cruel mockery of staying the evil by laws without enforcement—cédulas, without a hope being entertained of their being carried into effect,—is now practising in New Spain; and the awful waste of human life, that in the time of the Indians was for a limited period made up by the ravages of the man-robbers on the coast of the new world, has now for three centuries been filled up, in Cuba alone, by an annual importation, that has now reached to the amount of 25,000 stolen men from the shores of Africa.

If it be notorious that negro slaves have always been treated with peculiar mildness in the Spanish colonies, it follows that the slaves of the island of Cuba, for example, are a contented race, and therefore they are not over-worked, nor under-fed, nor ill-clad; that the sexes are equalised, that the mortality is small, and the increase by births considerable; that the amount of produce obtained by the labour of a given number of slaves is less than it has been in former years in the British colonies; that there is a considerable number of aged slaves on the estates; and that the pregnant women are allowed exemption from hard field-labour in the last six or eight weeks of their pregnancy; that the females are not usually flogged; that the children are instructed in the elements of the Christian faith; that the negroes on the estates are married by the ministers of religion; that they are suffered to attend a place of worship on the Sabbath-day; that it is not lawful to hunt them down by dogs when they are fugitives from the estates; that when they are scourged to death, or killed by violence, the white man who is their murderer may be brought to justice, and punished with the utmost rigour of the law—but not one of these measures of justice, or means of protection for the prædial slaves, are known to exist in Cuba—not a single one of these I have pointed out is to be looked for to the law, and yet the law allows these privileges, and solemnly condemns every withdrawal of them. But the law was never framed with any reasonable prospect of its being enforced; it never has been enforced, and, what is more, it never can be enforced against the planters, who are the transgressors of it; because, in fact, these are the men who are entrusted with the execution of it.

In the towns and cities, the case is indeed different with the domestic slaves—but what a small portion do these form of the number of slaves in Cuba! These domestic slaves, especially those of the opulent proprietors, comparing their condition with that of the prædial slaves, may

be said to be fortunately circumstanced. They have the power, in the large towns and cities, of availing themselves of the privileges the law accords them. If they have a harsh owner, they may demand permission to seek another master, and it is compulsory on that master to sell them, either for the sum he paid for them, or at such a rate as the *sindico*, or the special protector of the slaves, and the judges may determine, in consideration of any reasonable increase in their value, or in consequence of their having been taught a trade or calling.

But how is the *predial* slave to avail himself of these legal privileges? The officers of justice in the country towns are usually slaveholders themselves; the estate may be ten, nay, twenty miles distant from a town; the *sindicos*, the *alcaldes*, the *capitanes de partidos*, all are planters. The idea of a *predial* slave going to the mayoral, or overseer, and telling him he wants "a paper,"—a permission for two or three days, to seek another master (*buscat amo*), would be laughed at in Cuba; the unfortunate negro who would make so daring an attempt to obtain his rights, would, in all probability, be flogged on the spot. He dare not leave the estate to seek the *sindico* in any adjoining town; and, no matter what injustice may be done to him, were he to pass his master's gate, he would be subjected to punishment, "*boca abajo*," without appeal, as a fugitive; and if he still presumed to talk of the law, and to insist on being taken before a magistrate to claim the privileges which that law gave him, he would then be treated with a degree of rigour "beyond the law," as an insolent and rebellious slave. But, granting that he succeeded in getting to the *sindico*, the *alcalde*, or the *capitane de partido*, what chance of justice has an unfortunate slave in Cuba against the powerful influence of a rich, and perhaps a titled, owner? The planter is the friend of the authorities of his district, they dare not disoblige him; and if they dared, they are at last to be gained over by a bribe, or got rid of by a remonstrance to the governor, and a suitable present to the assessor of the governor, who is one of the great law-officers of the crown. How, in the name of common sense, is the law to be looked to in a Spanish colony, for the mitigation of the evils of slavery, or the protection of the slave?

The excellence of the Spanish civil law is admitted by every one, *yet the iniquity of Spanish tribunals, the corruption of Spanish judges, and the incomparable villany of Spanish lawyers is proverbial in all the colonies of Spain.* Justice is bought and sold in Cuba with as much scandalous publicity as Bozal slaves are bought and sold in the barracoons. Is there a man in Cuba, who had suffered wrong in property or in person, who would be mad enough to go for redress into a court of law, and expect to obtain it by trusting solely to the merits of his case? How then are we to expect, from any code for the regulation of negro slavery, justice for the Creole who has not the means to buy the judge? How are we to expect to restrain the cruelty, or to control the cupidity of men who have the means to bribe the bench of every tribunal in the land, to make "*impegnas*," as these solicitations are called, with the sons and servants, the cousins and the familiars of the judges in their cause? Is it, then, to cédulas and laws, to parchment justice, or to statute-book benevolence, we are to look for that peculiar character of mildness which this report assures us is the characteristic of slavery in Spanish colonies?

But, in Cuba, it is not that I have heard or read of the atrocities of Spanish slavery, but I saw them with my own eyes. I lived for a whole year at the Havana, before I could so far disembarass myself of the merchant-planter influence of that place (that deadening influence of slavery, which steals so imperceptibly over the feelings of strangers in the West Indies), as to form an opinion for myself, and trust to my own senses alone for a knowledge of the condition of the *predial* slaves. It was only when I visited estates, not as a guest of the proprietors, seeing through the eyes of my hospitable hosts, thinking as they thought, and believing as they saw fit to administer to my credulity the customary after-dinner dose of the felicity of slaves,—it was only when I went alone, and unknown, and unexpected, on their estates, that the terrible atrocities of Spanish slavery astounded my senses. I have already said, and I repeat the words, so terrible were these atrocities, so murderous the system of slavery, so transcendent the evils I witnessed, *over all I had ever heard or seen of the rigour of slavery elsewhere*, that at first I could hardly believe the evidence of my senses. Nay, I have known men of great intelligence, one in particular, whom it was of great consequence to have well-informed on this subject, and whom I myself accompanied over several estates in various parts of the country; and here, in Cuba, so terrible were the admissions made by the mayorals, or overseers, on the estates we visited, that he could not believe he heard correctly the accounts that were given to us, even by the managers themselves, of the frightful rigour of the treatment they described. Till this gentleman (who is known as an able writer on Cuban affairs) and myself made partially known at the Havana the evils that had come to our knowledge, on the sugar estates especially, there were British and other foreign merchants in that city, who had resided there for years, who said they were utterly ignorant of these evils; having read certain laws for the protection of slaves, and seen certain cédulas for the nominal mitigation of the cruelties of slavery, they actually imagined that the laws were enforced, and the negroes happy and humanely treated.

With respect to my own experience, it is not by particular instances of cruelty or oppression the fact is to be established, that slavery in Cuba is more destructive to human life, more pernicious to society, degrading to the slave, and debasing to the master, more fatal to health and happiness, *than in any other slaveholding country on the face of the habitable globe.* Instances of cruelty, enough, no doubt, have come to my knowledge—of the murder of negroes, perpetrated with impunity,—of men literally scourged to death,—of women torn from their children, and separated from them,—of estates where an aged negro is not to be seen,—where the females do not form a third part of the slave population; nay, of estates where there is not a single female,—of labour in the time of crop on the sugar properties being twenty continued hours, frequently for upwards of six months in the year, seldom or never under five, and of the general impression prevailing on this subject, and generally acted on by the proprietors, that four hours' sleep is sufficient for a slave.

The cases, were I to bring them before the public, without a shadow of colouring to heighten the effect of the naked outline, so frightful a detail, I am persuaded, would cause people to marvel that such things could be in a Christian land—could occur in the present age—could be done by men who moved in society, who are tolerated in it, and bear the name and wear the garb of gentlemen; by persons, in short, professing the religion of Christ, and daring to couple the sanctity of that name with rapine, murder, and the living death of slavery itself, which are carried on, even in its name, for the purpose, forsooth, of making Christians of African unbelievers.

ST. JOHN DEL REY MINING COMPANY.

We have received, says the *Daily News* of October the 30th, from the directors of the St. John del Rey Mining Company copies of two circulars, which they have addressed to their shareholders, of which (having published the secretary's letter) we feel it due to the directors to make the following extracts:—

"8, Tokenhouse Yard, October 19th, 1849.—The Directors of the St. John del Rey Mining Company have seen, with the utmost surprise, that the late secretary, Mr. W. Routh, has issued a circular letter to the proprietors of the company, in which he takes upon himself to deny the accuracy of the statements contained in the circular letter issued by the directors on the 19th of last month, and bearing his signature. The statements made in the last-named circular were wholly taken from the advices received from the mines—extracted, in fact, for the most part, by the late secretary himself. He was present at the board when the circular was read and considered. He did not utter a word of dissent from any part of its contents. At the next meeting of the board, being the 28th of September, the following minute occurs in the late secretary's own handwriting:—'The secretary reported, that the circular issued by the directors on the 19th instant had been forwarded to the shareholders who received the last dividend.' Neither did he, on that occasion, intimate to the directors that he had been made the instrument of circulating any statement which was not true. The deaths which have occurred amongst the negroes are correctly stated in that circular. By subsequent accounts it appears that the total number of deaths in July (up to the 28th of the month) was five. In the month of June the number was seven. There is nothing whatever in the advices from the superintendent, or in the monthly reports transmitted to the directors, that can in any degree warrant the imputation that the negroes have been overworked. It would be contrary to the positive instructions of the directors, and equally so to the well-known feelings of the superintendent himself, who has devoted himself most assiduously to the welfare of the negroes, in every way. The superintendent has been informed of the rumours which have been circulated on this head, and the directors have no doubt he will effectually repel them. In the month of June, 1848, he wrote as follows, in reference to some hired negroes who had just arrived:—'The gentleman who came in charge of these negroes says, that such is the reputation Morro Velho has acquired for the excellent treatment and care of the blacks, that all the blacks now hired at — will be sent here as fast as their present contracts expire; and, in fact, ten blacks, some of whom had been for the last two years working at —, have arrived here for hire this very day, and are now waiting the arrival of their owner to make the requisite contracts for them.' The recent sickness has naturally created alarm, and will prevent the superintendent's being able to hire more negroes, in any number, until it shall have passed away. Regarding the removal of nine negroes from the company, to which the late secretary adverts, the following is the superintendent's advice thereon:—'June 13th—Nine blacks, belonging to Donna Anna Joaquim de Jesus, of Cocoes, viz., eight men and one woman, have been taken away this morning; the twelve months for which they were hired being expired. They were a very bad set, and I was heartily glad to get rid of them. The owner was very desirous of leaving them here.' The late secretary states,—'At the time the directors issued this circular, the deaths of male adults amounted to forty-three, out of a population, more or less, of 170 borers (the free borers are not included); 'kibble-fillers,

&c., perhaps 96 more.' By the medical reports it appears that, from the 1st of January to the 30th of June, being the period comprehended in the circular of the directors, the deaths of borers were thirteen from sickness, and one from mine accident. The number of borers employed on the 31st of December, 1848, including negroes and natives, was 206; the number employed on the 30th of June last, was 211. With respect to the working the mines, annexed hereto are copies of the head mining captain's reports thereon for the last four months; the period subsequent to the last annual report. They are a sufficient answer to the assertion, that the 'mines are unfairly worked.' The following are particulars of the cost and returns for the last four months, as made up by the superintendent, which the directors believe to be perfectly correct:—

	Cost.		Produce.
March	£4,313 4 3	—	£7,841 15 11
April.....	4,865 16 10	—	8,016 13 10
May	4,216 3 10	—	7,914 15 11
June.....	4,915 13 6	—	7,773 14 9
	£18,310 18 5		£31,547 0 5

Profit..... £13,236 2 0

The following is a statement of the company's finances:—

Balance at the bankers	£11,018 0 0	
Deposited with Overend, Gurney, and Co.	10,000 0 0	
		21,018 0 0
To pay.		
Drafts running.....		8,000 0 0
Surplus	£13,018 0 0	
Reserved Fund, deposited with the bankers:—		
Exchequer Bills	£5,000 0 0	
Newcastle and Carlisle Railway Debentures	5,000 0 0	
		£10,000 0 0

"There is about £1500 to pay for stores preparing for shipment. On the other hand, a remittance of gold is due by the packet to arrive next month.

"When Mr. Keogh, the present superintendent, left London, he was furnished with a letter of instructions from the directors, of which the following is an extract, relating to the care of the negroes:—

"Extract from letter of instructions to Mr. Keogh, dated London, March 19, 1847:—'Connected with the consideration of labour, necessarily comes the important and interesting question of the treatment of the negro force. From the statements before the board, contained in the superintendent's advices, they have no reason to believe that the negroes are in any respect overworked. There does not seem the least ground for such an apprehension. The question has been investigated on several occasions, and the result completely, as the board believe, established this point; and considering that, as slaves, they would be obliged to submit to any amount of labour that might be forced upon them, it is very satisfactory that the board are enabled to feel conscientiously at ease on this point. But, in addition to this, the board are very desirous to feel assured that everything practicable is done for their reasonable comfort. The cultivation of little gardens, the keeping of pigs and poultry, and whatever else can tend to their spending their leisure hours in an innocent and rational manner, ought to be encouraged amongst them. Any rewards for good conduct, which should stimulate the exercise of the domestic virtues, would be well bestowed. They ought to be encouraged to feel that those whom they serve are kind masters and protectors to them; that they take a real interest in their welfare; that, while the faithful and diligent discharge of their daily labour is punctually required of them, they may rely, in return, on every reasonable indulgence and encouragement. Any attempt on the part of the English miners, who superintend them, to treat them with harshness or severity, should be instantly checked. The feeling inculcated throughout the establishment towards the negroes should be one of kindness and good-will, arising from the conviction that, although the colour of their skin be different from ours, they are creatures of the same Almighty Creator, and entitled to the utmost forbearance at our hands, by reason of the inferior position in which it has pleased Providence to permit them to be placed. The board will be glad to know specifically what is doing with the training of the children of the negroes; and they will thank you to send them a list of the names of all the children, with their ages, and the employments to which such of them as are competent to any employment are placed. The board trust that the training of them to be smiths, carpenters, masons, &c., may render them very valuable to the establishment. They would like also to know whether it is not practicable to train them to the performance of all under-ground mining works, timbering, blasting, &c., so that it should be possible, for instance, at a future time, to carry on all the workings by negroes, with merely English under-ground agents to direct them. Everything should be done to promote order and cleanliness in their dwellings. Matrimony, without being made a matter of compulsion, should be distinctly encouraged, and all immorality of conduct effectively

discountenanced. The board are already informed that they regularly attend the service of the church, and that the clergyman of the village instructs them in Christian doctrine.'"

DOES JAMAICA REQUIRE IMMIGRATION?

(From the Trelawny, of the 7th of September.)

We have extracted from the London Times, of the 1st of August, an article on the colonies; the intention of the writer has been, no doubt, to enlist the sympathy of the British people; but the arguments advanced are so much at variance with truth, so far as regards Jamaica, that we consider it proper to notice such portions as are inconsistent with facts; and in doing so, we would wish it to be perfectly understood that we write in reference to Jamaica only.

The first remark which strikes us most forcibly is—"The negro of Guiana and Jamaica exists under such conditions of work and wages as M. Louis Blanc has not ventured to bespeak even for the perfectionised *ouvrier* of his imaginary republic." To any person, unacquainted with the present true state of the negro population of this island, it would appear they were in a most flourishing condition: plenty of work to be done, if they will only labour; and good high wages to be paid for that work! If such be the meaning intended to be conveyed, then we say, the writer is most profoundly ignorant of the present state of affairs in Jamaica, or the glaring misrepresentation has been suggested by some one or other of that party who have striven for the last few years to drive the emancipated negro to the last extreme, by the introduction of African or other immigrants into the labour market—who have only swarmed the land like locusts, devouring all that came in their way. We will briefly refer to the parish of Trelawny, illustrative of the state of the labour market. During the last crop there was not a single instance of deficiency of labour, on any estate in this parish, where the labourers were correctly and punctually paid—on the contrary, we are acquainted with several localities at which there were a redundant number of labourers, and these could only obtain an occasional job, and the remuneration received therefrom was quite insufficient to maintain themselves and families. At the present moment (we state from facts that have fallen under our immediate observation) the agricultural labourers of Trelawny, in a number of districts, are entirely *destitute of employment*. Not, that they will not work—but, that they cannot obtain employment! On some estates there is, of necessity, in the present impoverished state of the country, no work to be performed at present—on others, the parties in management require only a very limited amount of labour for certain work; while, on others again, Africans, or Portuguese, or Coolies, are located; and having these *immigrants* on estates, the emancipated negro is driven from the tillage of the soil, from which he expects to derive support for himself and his family. On those estates that have the recently-imported Africans located on them, very few native labourers are engaged, unless as head-men, to superintend the agricultural work, and to instruct the new-comers in the performance of their duties. It is by this means that the immigration schemers seek to drive from the labour market, and reduce to penury and want, the able-bodied Jamaican labourer. There are hundreds—aye, we may safely say, thousands of labourers, who are at this moment desirous of obtaining employment, and none is to be had. As an earnest of our assertion, we could undertake the production of any number of labourers to the extent of one thousand in ten days—or of two thousand in three weeks, who are at present unemployed in the parish of Trelawny. And are there not other parishes similarly situated as that of Trelawny? We believe this to be a picture of every parish throughout the island. "Save us from our friends," is a cry to which we give exclamation, and we very much suspect the writer, or instigator, of the remark in question to be one of those characters who *loudly deny* any support to immigration measures—yet, at the same time, secretly publish false statements to demonstrate the necessity of introducing labour from Africa into this country. It reminds us of a Jamaica member of Assembly, who *stoutly denied* his ever having voted for immigration, but omitted to add (which he ought in common honesty to have done)—"I *only* acted as chairman to a public meeting, when a petition was adopted and *signed by me*, to the British Government, praying for an unlimited amount of African immigrants." And that was done, too, at a time when estates were being thrown up—proprietors declaring themselves ruined—and the general state of affairs in Jamaica of a most gloomy character.

We do not require immigration, and those who say we do are persons who are actuated by a feeling inimical to the native labourer, or who have some personal interest to serve. We want a legitimate free-trade with the mother country; let Great Britain act with justice, humanity, and wisdom, towards her colonies, by fixing a barrier between the produce of free labour, and that of slave labour; let the proprietary body of the colonies be possessed of the means, and offer continuous employment to the negro labourer of Jamaica, and we are sure there will be no apathy displayed on the part of the native labourers, who, it is well known, are superior, in point of hardihood and tractability, to European, Portuguese, or Coolie immigrants. In fact, these latter only infest the land,

a deplorable spectacle of human wretchedness, and a drag on the pockets of the community, whose finer feelings will not permit them to see fellow-beings die of sheer hunger. With what feelings can the promoters of Coolie immigration view the results of their blind and unjustifiable act? We blush for them.

We shall again refer to the subject.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—JOHN P. HALE ON SLAVERY.—This eminent champion of the cause of free soil, says the *Providence Transcript*, who has persevered and triumphed over the combined forces of Whigs and Democrats, in New Hampshire, the ligament of whose union was a blind subserviency to Southern dictation, has written a letter declining to attend a mass convention in Norwich, Vt., a portion of which we extract below. It reiterates a truth that we have stated to our readers, that slaves are being carried into the territory which we acquired from Mexico, and this truth should unite the free soil in a still closer union, and give new impulse to their efforts in the cause of freedom. The extract reads thus:—

"The present is a dangerous crisis. There is danger, great and imminent danger, that slavery will be introduced and ultimately established by law in California and New Mexico. To avert the calamity so serious to every friend of humanity, requires the united and energetic effort of all those who would avert from our country the reproach which would most assuredly follow such an event. It will not avail to shut our eyes to the existence of this danger, and attempt to deceive ourselves with the idea that it does not exist. It does exist; it is even now close upon us, and while the interested and the venal are lulling us with the syren song that there is 'no danger,' slaves are being carried into those territories, the clanking of whose chains, and the cries of whose agony, shall fill the ear of the Most High, calling for vengeance upon us, if through timidity, party spirit, or any other cause, we hold our peace and do not do what we may to prevent so great a wrong. From the foundation of the Government up to the passage of the Oregon Bill in 1848, slavery has, with hardly an exception, triumphed in every issue which she has raised. She has made war and peace, passed and repealed tariffs, moulded our legislation, controlled our diplomacy, and made the operation of the whole machinery of the Government subsidiary to her interests. The Whig and Democratic parties, as they have been heretofore organised, have been as bond-servants to slavery. The ferocity of the attack which the organs of the old Hunker pro-slavery Democracy are making upon the present administration seems to originate in the fear that the Whigs, by their course in the last Presidential campaign, have done better service to slavery than they, with all their servility in years past, have been able to render. Slavery has never yet, with the exception of the Oregon Bill, met with a defeat in any measure which she has seriously urged. That partial defeat seems only to enrage the slave power and excite it to greater efforts in the great struggle which she is now making.

"These efforts must be met by corresponding efforts on the part of the friends of freedom. The crisis is near, the day and the hour are at hand. May God grant that the men for the day and the hour may not be wanting."

CALIFORNIA.—ORGANIZATION OF A GOVERNMENT.—THE SLAVERY QUESTION.—The following remarks are taken from the *Alta Californian*:—

The project for assembling a convention to draft a State Constitution, to be submitted to the people for ratification, has now advanced so far toward a certain accomplishment, that we feel it our duty to offer a few suggestions relative to its composition, and the principles which should govern in selecting its members. We never had, and have not now, any desire to become a politician, in the sense in which the word is usually understood, but we confess that it is a cherished wish with us to advance the true interests of California. We desire to see her take that rank which her commercial position on the coast of the Pacific, her untold mineral wealth, and her great agricultural resources, point out as her destiny; and we desire that she on whom all eyes are turned, and from whom so much is expected, should not seem ignorant of her own illimitable resources, nor prove recreant to the great principles which were the first political lessons of her citizens, and which the world expects her to avow and maintain.

Every person appears to be convinced that the slavery question, under the complexion that it now wears in the Atlantic States, defeated the numerous attempts made in the last Congress to give to California a territorial organization, and all men ought to be as firmly assured that unless the citizens of California settle that question for themselves, and do so at once, that it will prevent, defeat, or at least protract, for some years to come, the establishment of any government in the country. Independent of the moral considerations which weigh so heavily against slavery, and which we have neither time nor room to repeat, as a matter

of expediency—as a means of giving to this country a government—it is necessary that the people should insert in their constitution a clause forbidding the introduction of negro or other slavery. The highest, noblest, acts of humanity demand it—the progressive doctrines of Republicanism cannot be maintained without it—and the interests of the mass, the people—those who dig and delve, and earn their bread, and learn self-respect and enterprise from the necessities of labour—render it imperative.

There must be no slurring over or avoiding the question. The South have contended, that it is a question which should be left to the citizens of each State to decide, and they cannot complain if we decide against it; while the North have asserted that it was a principle with them, which they are bound to maintain at any and all hazards; and that, therefore, they can never consent to the extension of slavery into California. True, the men who are most vociferous are probably the least sincere; but the political character of the question has become such that the great controlling mass of the North would undoubtedly agree with and sustain their representatives.

We do not fear to assert, then, that a State Constitution for California, which does not contain a provision against slavery, will never be allowed to go into effect by the Congress of the United States, and we are still more firm in our convictions that the people of California would never approve of such a document.

It then follows, that the people of the different districts, in their primary meetings, must see that their opinions in this matter are expressed and understood. No man should go to the Convention whose feelings on this subject are unknown, and whose views do not coincide with the majority of those whom he represents, and every proper effort should therefore be made to accomplish this result. We abhor proscription, but we feel, at the same time, that great interests are at stake, which call for vigilance, firmness, and, above all, a fair and full expression of public sentiment. Let us but have this, and the consequences will not be regretted.

THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON.—The news from the United States, relating to the cotton crop of 1849, is not yet of such a nature as to enable us to say whether the yield will be large or not. The speculators affirm that the crop will not be above 2,000,000 bales, while other parties say that there is nothing to prevent it from reaching 2,500,000 bales. In the absence of precise information, we are left entirely to conjecture, and those who seek to read the future in the past find very little data on which to found an estimate. Those who take a sanguine view of the matter, point to the fact that, during the last thirty years, the production of cotton has been increasing at an average rate of six per cent. per annum, and therefore, they say, even after making a reasonable allowance for loss, owing to the lateness of bloom this year, there may still be as large a crop as there was in 1847, which was 2,347,634 bales. On the other hand, the croakers tell us that we have never more than two good crops together; and, as those of 1847 and 1848 were both above the average, they infer that this year's will be considerably under an average. In order that our readers may judge for themselves, we give the following table of the American cotton crops for the last sixteen years:—

Years.	Bales.
1833	1,205,394 good.
1834	1,254,328 "
1835	1,360,725 "
1836	1,422,930 "
1837	1,801,497 very good.
1838	1,360,532 bad.
1839	2,177,835 good.
1840	1,634,945 bad.
1841	1,683,574 "
1842	2,378,875 good.
1843	2,030,409 middling.
1844	2,394,503 good.
1845	2,100,537 bad.
1846	1,780,479 very bad.
1847	2,347,634 good.
1848	2,707,000 very good.

This table furnishes a sufficient reply to those who affirm, with regard to the cotton crop, that "we have never a series of two consecutive abundant years together." The five years ending in 1837 were all good, not only as regards one another—each successive year showing a considerable advance over the preceding one—but compared with the average crops previous to the period at which the above table commences. During the five years ending in 1832, the average annual cotton crop was only 982,230 bales; during the five years ending in 1837, the average annual crop was 1,418,974. For the last twenty-one years the increase appears to have been pretty regular, when we take an average of five or six years—thus, if we take the five years ending in 1832, 1837, 1842, and the six years ending in 1848, we find that each period has given the following average:—

Years ending	Bales.
1832	982,230
1837	1,418,974
1842	1,847,150
1848	2,226,760

The increase of the latter period over the average production of 1832 is about 125 per cent. This is much greater than the increase which has taken place in the consumption of cotton in Great Britain during the last sixteen years. In 1832 we consumed 858,434 bales; in 1848, the total quantity taken for consumption was 1,509,000 bales, showing an increase of little more than 75 per cent. over that of 1832. In the United States, the progress of consumption has been proceeding at a much quicker rate, as will be seen by comparing the quantity of cotton consumed at the two periods—1832, 173,000 bales; 1848, 500,000 bales. Here we have an increase of nearly 200 per cent. in America, against one of little more than 75 per cent. in Great Britain. At the same rate of increase in both countries respectively, supposing it to go on for the next thirty-two years, the United States will, by that time, be consuming nearly as large a quantity of cotton as we shall be doing.—*Manchester Examiner.*

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE SLAVE-TRADE TREATIES.—We have much pleasure in publishing the following document, as it evinces an earnest desire, on the part of Lord Palmerston, not to allow these treaties to remain, as at present, waste parchment, to the ruin of the British colonies:—

“Foreign Office, July 27th, 1849.

“Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a series of resolutions passed at a public meeting recently held in the parish of St. George, Jamaica, setting forth the grievances to which the inhabitants of that island are subjected by the continuation of the foreign slave-trade, and by the habitual violation, on the part of Spain and the Brazils, of the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, by which those powers are bound to Great Britain.

“I have to express my regret on finding that the memorial which was addressed to me in September, 1847, and which is embodied in the present resolutions, was, by an oversight at the time, omitted to be acknowledged by me; although I did not omit, immediately on receipt of the memorial, to give such renewed directions to her Majesty’s naval authorities as the case appeared to require.

“I now further beg leave to state to you, for the information of the parties interested, that the subject of their representations has engaged, and continues to engage, the earnest solicitude of her Majesty’s Government, and that her Majesty’s Government are sedulously directing their attention to the attainment of the object which the inhabitants of Jamaica have so much at heart.

“I am, Sir, &c.

“John Rock Grosett, Esq., Custos of the Parish of St. George, &c.”

“PALMERSTON.

BRITISH GUIANA.—In the *Feuille de la Guyane Française* of the 11th ultimo, we find the following paragraph:—“Whilst we are writing these lines, a schooner has entered the harbour with several immigrants from Madeira, who, for some time past, have been in Demerara. The arrival of this increase of the population, feeble as it is, has reanimated the hopes of the colonists. They have seen with gratitude the supreme authority assist them on this occasion. Hands, hands only are needed, and the country is saved!”

On turning to another part of the same journal we find that this vessel was our well-known trader, the *Porgy*, lately arrived from this colony with fifty-six Portuguese emigrants destined for Para; and that, on application of several of the proprietors in Cayenne, the Government took advantage of her being in the harbour, to offer a premium of a hundred francs a head on each of these Portuguese above fifteen years, and of fifty on each under that age, who should prefer remaining in Cayenne to proceeding to Para, and should enter into an engagement of service.

We must confess we are under some apprehension that the emancipation in Cayenne may have the effect of depriving us of more of our immigrants than we can spare, especially immigrants for whom the public here have already paid such large sums in various shapes.

TRINIDAD.—COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT, AUGUST 23.—
Indian Immigration.

Mr. Rennie.—He had the honour to present a petition from 69 proprietors of sugar estates, and other parties interested in the welfare of the colony, praying, under proper restrictions, for further Indian immigration.

The memorial was read:—

“TRINIDAD.—To His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Harris, Governor, and the Honourable Members of the Council of Government.

“The humble memorial of the undersigned planters and others interested in sugar cultivation in this colony, sheweth—

“That there still exists a continued necessity for further immigration of effective labourers, to enable your memorialists to maintain and ensure

profitable cultivation. The deficiency of labour during the last crop season was most grievously felt in every district in the field department of cane-cutting, and in no case was it possible to procure adequate labour for the necessary operation of weeding in crop-time. A scarcity of labour, experienced in any department whatever on a sugar plantation in the crop season, has the effect of enhancing the cost of the entire operation, and of entailing upon a diminished quantity of produce the same cost as would have attached to the full working of the machinery, and a larger return.

“The deficiency of labourers for field-work at the termination of the past crop, when the immediate care of the growing cane is so urgent and pressing, has likewise been painfully apparent; and your memorialists, therefore, pray that means may be adopted for ensuring the introduction of additional immigrants from India, by the aid of the parliamentary loan, a portion of which was designed for the use of this colony.

“Your memorialists take leave to advert to the 15th section of Earl Grey’s published despatch, No. 56, of 1st June, addressed to Governor Barkly, in which his lordship recommends a system by which the immigrants might be made to defray the cost of their conveyance to the colony; and they likewise refer to the concluding passage of the same section, in which he observes—‘It also deserves consideration, whether an attempt might not be made to procure from China some of those industrious and skilful cultivators who now proceed in such numbers from that populous empire to all the surrounding countries.’

“Your memorialists respectfully and anxiously urge upon the immediate consideration of your Excellency and the honourable members of the Board of Council the subject of this memorial, and that his Excellency the Governor may be requested to bring the same under the favourable notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the view of devising such a system as that already referred to in his despatch, No. 56, under which, not a large but still a fixed number of immigrant labourers may be introduced annually into this colony from India and China.

“And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.”

[Here follow sixty-nine signatures.]

Mr. Rennie.—It would be seen from Lord Grey’s despatch to Mr. Barkly, Governor of Demerara, that a certain portion of the parliamentary grant could be appropriated to this purpose. He would not move upon the memorial now, but take the discussion when the estimates came before the board, by placing a sum on the estimates for immigration. He then moved the following resolution:—

“That his Excellency the Governor is respectfully and urgently requested by the Board of Council to forward the memorial of the petitioners to her Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to bring the same under his early and favourable consideration, with the view of securing to this colony the important object prayed for.”

Seconded by Dr. Philip.

His Excellency should state most distinctly his view of the question to Lord Grey. They had been bringing here, for several years, a large number of these people, at an enormous expense; and as they were entitled to their passage back again, after a certain time, it must end in a dead loss to the colony. He was certain that this kind of immigration had been carried on very badly; for the first time, he had been able to obtain anything like a correct return of the Coolies in the colony. Of 5,300 which had been imported, about 3,700 remained; and of these, only 2,400 might be called regular labourers. There was another question connected with this matter; not one of these people who had been asked whether he wished to return at the end of his five years, but had expressed his anxiety to do so; it would be necessary soon to take into consideration how they would provide for the return passages of these Coolies.

The resolution moved by Mr. Rennie was adopted.

ANTIGUA.—RESTRICTIONS ON LOCOMOTION.—Among the cases, which have become almost solitary, in which law and order have fallen behind the progress of civilisation, we notice the existence and arbitrary effect of the law for preventing the “clandestine” departure from the island of labourers. Labourers, artificers, and domestic servants, who may be desirous of going abroad, are obliged first to appear before a magistrate for examination, as to any obligation resting upon them, in reference to contract for labour, or support of relatives—and after undergoing this ordeal, they must produce the magistrate’s certificate before the secretary of the island, upon which the latter officer is authorised to publish the names of the parties intending to leave, for a period of thirty days prior to their departure; whereas other individuals may obtain their passports at once by giving a security bond in the secretary’s office.

There is, therefore, one law for the labourer and artificer, and another for the rest of the community. The labourer’s possession of a magistrate’s certificate, inasmuch as it attests freedom from contract for labour and a clearance of other obligations, the failure of which might add to any public burden, would seem sufficient for every civil purpose—while the additional requirements become oppressive, especially so from their

partial character; and class legislation has long been repudiated by all civilised and free governments.

The preamble of the act adverted to points at individuals who entice or persuade labourers to desert their employers, and to enter into other contracts for service in neighbouring colonies, and who thus become victims to the duplicity of evil-minded persons. If, therefore, it was the intention, in enacting this measure, to secure the labourers from becoming victims, that object would be better attained by a penal enactment against the guilty parties exclusively—without inflicting injurious restrictions upon the parties whom the act itself professed to protect.—*Observer*, Sept. 6.

TOBAGO.—The weather is said to be very fine for agricultural purposes in this island, but complaint is made of the want of sufficient continuous labour to take advantage of it, notwithstanding the suspension of cultivation on several estates for want of means to carry it on. The cause of this, however, is not far to seek. The planters have reduced wages from 1s. per diem to 9d., and more generally 8d.; whilst in the provision grounds of the small freeholders and settlers of his class, the labourer can get 1s. to 1s. 4d. per diem, with refreshment.

"One thing," observes the *Watchman* (1st August), "we must say for the people, that they betray no symptoms of indolence or ill-performed tasks in their own grounds. Such a show of beautifully luxuriant provisions of all sorts it has not been our lot to witness in any of the previous fifteen years, neither to such a large extent; in fact, as if determined to have the monopoly among themselves, the peasantry are in the daily habit of employing those of their own class, who have deserted estates, at 1s. to 1s. 4d. per diem, with breakfast and beverage, or a glass of rum. It is with great difficulty that any gentleman, owning a small demesne, requiring a small piece of pasture cleaned, a fence trimmed, or a garden dug up or weeded, can obtain an individual to do so at any price, or even to act as a house servant."

We recommend this to the thoughtful consideration of those in the mother-country who have been misled into the belief that the negro in these colonies is unable to take care of himself, and requires to be held in constant pupillage to prevent his lapsing, through sheer indolence, into savage barbarism. The *Watchman*, by a logic peculiar to the pro-planter press, would attribute the "great difficulty" experienced by gentlemen, &c., as recorded in the preceding extract, simply to the people's preferring to work "for their own colour." But, surely, the difference between 8d. or 9d. and 1s. or 1s. 4d., "with breakfast and beverage, or a glass of rum," to those who like it, might be supposed inducement sufficient, without any reference whatever to colour. And if, in addition to this, they are treated, as we suspect, with more kindness and greater considerateness by the humble provision-grower than by the "gentleman owning a small demesne," the inducement, of course, would be enhanced in proportion; but still we should not imagine that mere colour had anything to do with it, knowing, as we do, not a few very kind and considerate employers in these colonies of every shade of colour, and others, of all colours, just the reverse. No, no! it is not the colour—it is the extra pennies, with the breakfast and beverage, or glass of rum, and, perhaps, the civil tongue. These will always win a preference for those who resort to them wherever labour is free, and the labourer not in the very depths of his soul a *natural* slave.

The animus of the *Watchman* is very evident in the concluding lines of the article, immediately following the extract already made:—

"They prefer working for their own colour, who seem to enjoy a share of worldly prosperity ill at variance with the present depressed condition of their masters—so called; but it has not been, perhaps, altogether their faults this state of things. We have no desire to animadvert on the suicidal policy heretofore pursued by the planters; we only hope that their eyes may be at last opened, and union be once more restored. Where was there a firmer band of brothers than the planters in the days of slavery and apprenticeship? Then why not now? Union is strength."

To readers on the spot, who are acquainted with these matters, we need not say that the "suicidal policy" here deprecated is that of every proprietor judging for himself what his own peculiar circumstances require—giving such wages as he can afford, and making such arrangements with his labourers as for his own interests he thinks best, without any reference to the interests of their neighbours, or their ability to afford the same. This policy—the only *safe* one, if there be any truth in social economics—the policy of free men, and, let us add, of sensible, as well as honest ones, is considered suicidal by the planters of Tobago, whose weak echo the *Watchman* is, and the better policy that banded them in slavery is recommended in their future dealings with the negro. No wonder that estates are getting out of cultivation, and ruin staring the proprietors in the face. It would be strange were it otherwise.—*Barbadoes Liberal*.

Miscellaneous.

THE COAST OF AFRICA.—The *Dolphin* brigantine, which has arrived at Portsmouth, left Ascension on the 3rd ult., and Sierra Leone on the 15th, both places remarkably healthy. The *Dolphin* has made five prizes, three well freighted with slaves, of whom she has liberated 1,500 during her two years' service on the coast. The trade appears very active in the Portuguese dominions, off which place the *Cygnel* had captured two vessels in July last. The *Spy* brigantine had taken a small felucca, which had made two successful runs lately. The *Dolphin's* boats chased a large three-masted steam slaver, on the 20th of August, between Loando and Benguela, on the south coast, but unsuccessfully. The *Britomart* captured a fine fore-and-aft schooner off Mayumba, in July. The trade appears rather slack in the Bights of Benin, no captures having been made there lately. The slave-trade, however, at the other ports along the coast, was brisker than ever. The chiefs at the Gallinas were going to give up 3,000 slaves to Commander Dunlop, of the *Alert* sloop. The *Waterwitch* brig had driven ashore a fine slaver in July last, off the Gallinas. The *Phoenix* screw schooner, on her passage from England to the station, had made prize of a Portuguese schooner off the Cape Verdes, bound from Trieste to Pernambuco, on suspicion of being intended for, or engaged in the slave-trade, which has made a great stir, and is expected to lead to troublesome consequences. Commander Wodehouse sent her to the Cape of Good Hope for adjudication. There was not a single slave in the slave-yard at Sierra Leone, where emigrants were very much wished for.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE-TRADE UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG.—In our last we alluded to the facilities afforded by our Government to the foreign slave-trade, by means of the instructions of the late Secretary of State, that "all California bound vessels should be cleared *coastwise*."

In its treaty stipulations with England and France, while declaring the foreign slave-trade to be piracy, the Government reserved to itself the right of legalising the traffic in slaves, from one port of the United States to another, in *coasting* vessels. This reservation did not contemplate the annexation of a large extent of *territory* upon the Pacific, to reach which by sea required a voyage of several thousand miles, but was only for the especial accommodation of those engaged in the internal slave traffic between the northernmost slave States and those farther south. It may well be questioned if any fair interpretation of that reservation could justify the transportation of slaves, under the flag of the United States, to *territories* in reality beyond the sea, where the institution of slavery is unknown. But where the interests of slavery are concerned it is not customary for our Government to be over-scrupulous about anything; and the consequence is, that now, under the American flag, the slave pirates of the whole world are enabled to counteract all the efforts which are made by France and England, at such an immense sacrifice of money and life, to put an end to the slave-trade.

The following paragraph, which the editor of the *Philadelphia Non-Slaveholder* has been permitted to copy from a letter written by an officer of a United States ship of war, off Montevideo, will show how the slaveholders can take advantage of a Government licence.

"We have, for some time past, been endeavouring to put a stop to the shameful abuse of our flag, which is made in Brazil a cloak for the slave-trade. It is sad to say, but owing to our having taken the ground that no foreign vessel of war shall search an American merchantman, every species of rascality now takes our colours as a screen. For some time past not a slave was imported that did not, in some way, soil us. Either the slave goods to buy him were carried to Africa in one of our vessels through the British anti-slavery squadron, or he was brought over in an American vessel, merely changing her flag temporarily to avoid search. Thus, if pursued by an English man-of-war, the slaver hoists American colours, which protect her against search from any foreign man-of-war. If the slaver encounters an American cruiser, she hoists Brazilian, English, or any foreign flag, and we, to be consistent, cannot meddle with her.

"We have, however, caught four of our vessels, and sent them home for adjudication. *This is but a drop in the bucket, as there are at least fifty American vessels concerned at this moment in this traffic between Africa and Brazil.*"—*American Paper*.

FRANCE.—From the returns of the produce and consumption of beet-root sugar in France since the commencement of the season, it appears that on the 1st of October there were 52 manufactories in activity, or 19 more than at the corresponding period of last year, and 243 inactive, but having sugar to dispose of. The quantity manufactured amounted to 481,939 kilogs., or 315,861 more than last year; that sold for consumption to 1,325,760, and the quantity remaining unsold in the manufactories to 4,284,746 kilogs.